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A TRANSDISCIPLINARY READING OF DANIEL DEFOE'S NOVEL

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To my grandchildren, still coming,
to whom I intend to tell many beautiful stories.

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(...) there will come an Age, when the Minds of Men shall be more flexible, when the Prejudices of their Fathers shall have no Place, and when the Rules of Vertue and Religion justly recommended, shall be more gratefully accepted than they may be now, that our Children may rise up in Judgment against their fathers, and one Generation be edified by the same Teaching, which another Generation had despised. Robinson Crusoe

Daniel Defoe, Preface to *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1720)

RESUMO

Este estudo propõe uma leitura do século 21 de *Robinson Crusoe*, do escritor inglês Daniel Defoe, buscando identificar as razões que fazem a história do náufrago que vive numa ilha deserta por 28 anos permanecer excepcionalmente popular no mundo ocidental por três séculos. A leitura é um exercício prático do pensamento complexo, que constitui um dos três pilares da transdisciplinaridade, definido pelo pensador francês Edgar Morin. Esse enfoque consiste na identificação de padrões e inter-relações entre elementos internos do texto e externos a ele. O pensamento complexo conecta o conhecimento empírico/lógico/racional à sabedoria simbólica/mitológica/mágica. O estudo tem início com um retrospecto da carreira de *Robinson Crusoe*, considerando os textos fundadores que podem ter influenciado sua criação, e os inúmeros textos imitativos que se seguiram à sua publicação, originando um subgênero literário, das *Robinsonadas*. Uma síntese da biografia de Defoe ilustra o cenário de um mundo europeu de mudanças científicas, políticas e sociais radicais. O contexto e a fortuna crítica do autor são colocados lado a lado com a contribuição de estudos de filosofia da ciência, psicologia analítica, mitologia, antropologia e religião, na investigação do imaginário inscrito no romance. O capítulo quatro apresenta minha leitura transdisciplinar de *Robinson Crusoe*, destinada a demonstrar que a popularidade duradoura do romance é devida a seu poder de transmitir significados velados, conectados com elementos constitutivos do imaginário do mundo ocidental.

Palavras-chave: náufrago, ilha, pensamento complexo, transdisciplinaridade, imaginário.

ABSTRACT

This study proposes a twenty-first-century reading of *Robinson Crusoe*, by British writer Daniel Defoe, aiming to identify the reasons why the story of the castaway who lives on an uninhabited island for 28 years has remained remarkably popular in the Western world for almost three centuries. The reading is a drill on Complex Thinking, as defined by French epistemologist Edgar Morin, one of the pillars of Transdisciplinarity. This approach consists of the identification of patterns and interrelationships among elements inside the text and elements external to it, in the light of a number of disciplines involved in the study. Complex Thinking connects empirical/logical/rational knowledge to symbolic/mythological/magical wisdom. The study starts with a review of the career of the book, considering the founding texts which might have influenced the creation of *Robinson Crusoe*, and the myriad of mimetic texts that followed its publication, giving birth to a literary subgenre, the *Robinsonade*. A glance at the life of Defoe is also offered, so as to illustrate the context of a European world of radical scientific, political and social changes. Contexts and the critical heritage of the work are put together with symbolic data that prove relevant for the research on the imaginary inscribed in the novel. Chapter three acknowledges the aid of a number of studies in the fields of philosophy of science, analytical psychology, mythology, anthropology and religion, which enabled me to interrelate diverse levels of reading. Chapter four offers my transdisciplinary reading of *Robinson Crusoe,* in which I endeavor to demonstrate that the continued popularity of the novel derives from its capacity to convey concealed meanings connected with elements constitutive of the Imaginary of the Western world.

Key-words: castaway, island, Complex Thinking, Transdisciplinarity, Imaginary

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INTRODUCTION

The present thesis, which proposes a twenty-first century reading of *Robinson Crusoe*, by eighteenth-century British writer Daniel Defoe, brings transdisciplinarity into literary criticism. This contemporary approach requires the conjugation of two readings of the novel: the first one, highlighting the principal aspects of the work's critical heritage, is focused as the logical/rational view, which is crossed with an analogical/symbolical view. This dialogue, as presented in Chapter 3, is mandatory for Complex Thinking, one of the pillars of Transdisciplinarity, which enables us to find the interconnections inside and among systems. The methodology used in the work is supported by Romanian quantum physicist Basarab Nicolescu and by one of the leading figures in the Western contemporary thought, French sociologist, philosopher and epistemologist Edgar Morin.

The critical heritage – historical, social, political data researched in the principal critical evaluations of the book made by significant writers and thinkers since the early 18th century, when the book was written - is presented as a diachronic study in Chapter 2. The synchronic study of the work will encompass also contextual data on *Robinson Crusoe*, presented in Chapter 1, as these elements are also necessary for a transdisciplinary task. Eventually, the close reading of Defoe's book encompasses fundamental teachings from philosophy of science, supplied by Brazilian quantum physicist José Pedro Andreeta, and from research in scientific areas such as anthropology, mythology, and psychology, as well as in the hermeticism, religion, and art.

Complexity enfolds all contemporary scholarship, according to Morin (1999). Studies of the founder of analytical psychology, Swiss psychiatrist C. G. Jung on archaic symbols, as well as those of his follower Marie-Louise von Franz (1915-1998), support the interpretation of symbolic material in the *corpus* of this work. Researches made by Romanian historian of religions Mircea Eliade (1907-1986), as

well as the findings of another renowned mythologist, American scholar Joseph Campbell (1904-1987), and teachings by Irish preacher Emmet Fox (1886-1951) are my sources on mythology. A practical way of interrelating several disciplines is taught by German psychologist Thorwald Dethlefsen (1946-), whose technique is adopted for the close reading of *Robinson Crusoe* in this thesis.

Studies and thoughts on the imagination of the Fire, the Water, the Air and the Earth will also be sources for the close reading of Robinson Crusoe, which, by the way, will borrow the structure based on the four primal elements in nature from French philosopher Gaston Bachelard (1884-1962). Bachelard has written a series of works on the relationship between imagination and each of the four elements of matter. It is necessary to emphasize, however, that those motifs will not be taken in their literal meaning. My close reading of *Robinson Crusoe* will employ only the principles that lie beneath them, according to Fox (1950), as patterns, in order to connect varied images.

In our days, most of the readers still believe that *Robinson Crusoe* is a book for children. The testimonies of some scholars and critics, as it will be possible to learn forward in this study, show that probably every reader of an unabridged edition of the novel, except perhaps contemporaries of the author, has been astonished at the content of the work. Surprisingly for those readers who think they will meet an old friend, as for myself when I first read *Robinson Crusoe* as a grown-up, it is a serious story for adults. Furthermore, it does not consist only of that mere narrative of a shipwreck and the adventure of the castaway on a desert island. *Robinson Crusoe* is far more than the episodes that have been motivating countless similar stories all over the world for almost three hundred years.

Indeed that unpretentious book, considered by Ian Watt the first British novel[1], has been enrapturing the readers since it was first published in 1719. Therefore what

is the element of this plain story imagined – or built according to some real travelers' narratives – that has been captivating the readers so much along all this time? In Virginia Woolf's opinion (1976, p. 23), the author made "common actions dignified and common objects beautiful". Ian Watt (1964) states that Defoe did what very few writers could do: create both a new subject and a new literary form to embody it; and one of his biographers, John Robert Moore (1969, p. 56), asserts that Defoe "created not only a new literary form, but also a new reading public".

In Chapter 1, I present a brief view of the career of the work, which, as Woolf (*op. cit.,* p. 15) remarks, "we have all had read aloud to us as children". Writers, critics, scholars and influential people of all areas of knowledge have read the book differently – as travel or adventure literature, as a book of "fantastic voyage", guide literature, spiritual biography, pilgrim allegory, or even a utopia. Undeniably, *Robinson Crusoe* might have had its genesis in those prior works, and in any case it would have had significant models to follow – Homer, Plato, Saint Augustine, Shakespeare, Francis Bacon, Thomas More, and others could have been Defoe's masters, as it is presented in Chapter 1, Section 2.

Yet, *Robinson Crusoe* was a novelty: a novel, with a realistic plot, a factual prose as the recently founded Royal Society[2] recommended, different from all that had been conceived previously, according to Watt (1964). Presented in the form of autobiographical memoir, the plot of *Robinson Crusoe* was the beginning of a new tendency in fiction – the portrayal of individual experience. The reader – the new public, chiefly from the middle and lower classes – "got an epic entirely after his own heart, with a hero it could understand and admire because it was taken from its own ranks", as James Sutherland (1969, p. 26) posits. The critic points out that Crusoe is a hero who keeps himself human, "and human in an English way". Sutherland adds, "if ever there was a self-made man it is Robinson Crusoe" (p. 27).

Defoe's creation became an icon of the castaway stranded on a desert island, and the novel, a hallmark of the new fictional genre, also gave birth to what may be considered a subgenre in literature – that of narratives on marooned or castaway men who faced the challenge of living on desert islands. The category, whose beginning has been the huge amount of piracies, parodies, and satires of Defoe's work, has expanded into jokes, anecdotes, poems and stories encompassing all possible media: pantomimes, theatre plays – including musicals and an opera -, films, cartoons, comic strips, songs, TV series, reality shows. "Desert-island stuff" has become an idiomatic expression for all these countless *Robinsonades*.

The term was coined by Karl Marx in 1859[3], with a pejorative connotation, once destined to object the ideas of Scottish economist Adam Smith (1723-1790) and English economist David Ricardo (1772-1823)[4]. Having its meaning extended to every initiative akin to the story of Crusoe, as it is presented here in Chapter 1, Section 3, the *Robinsonades* comprise from a genuine nursery rhyme (*Poor Old Robinson Crusoe*) to a hypothetical replica, in Disneyworld (Florida, USA), of what would have been the tree house of the Swiss Family Robinson – itself a *Robinsonade* appeared a hundred years after Defoe's creation. The impact of *Robinson Crusoe* on the emergent reading public was so striking, that in France some people used to say *un robinson* for a large umbrella, as Watt (1994) remarks.

Chileans changed the name of Isla Juan Fernandez, in the Pacific Ocean, to Isla Robinson Crusoe, assuring it was there the famous character stayed for 28 years. As a matter of fact, this island where, in September 2005, 600 barrels of treasures were found[5] had been home to Scottish adventurer Alexander Selkirk. Selkirk's history would have inspired Defoe, according to many people. The sailor was abandoned on the island and lived alone for four years before being rescued. Yet, the "Island of Despair", as

Crusoe called his territory, was located in the Atlantic Ocean, some twenty leagues off the cost of South America, “near the mouth of the Orinoco River”, in Venezuela. It was a creation of the mind of Defoe and survives only in the heart of his readers.

The delight with the castaway’s adventures led the readers to inscribe on Defoe’s grave, in Bunhill Fields (London), “Author of Robinson Crusoe”[6], despite the fact that he had written more than five hundred works, most of them published anonymously. *Robinson Crusoe* was only one of his sixteen publications in the year 1719. Writing extremely fast was one of the attributes of the author, who had been a failure as a merchant, but a prodigious success in shaping public opinion – Western modern journalism and political propaganda are in debt to Defoe. As I present in a brief biography of the author, in Chapter 1, Section 4, the versatility in writing persuasively on every subject, depicting the conflicts of a period of cultural, political and social changes in England (there were six monarchs during Defoe’s lifetime [*see* Chronology, Appendix D]) as well as in all European world, held the attention even of enemies, who also demanded his services.

Defoe, as said in the epigraph of this work, knew that acknowledgement was something that would come only in the future, but he achieved great success while still alive, though having to deal with so many vicissitudes – bankruptcy, pillorying, imprisonment, and mainly the accusations of being a traitor to his party and his religion. The novelist – all biographers agree – was a contradictory person: a provocative pamphleteer, journalist and poet, a revolutionary; a spy and a double political agent, but a guardian of the family values and an apologist of the education of women. For many critics, Defoe is a riddle, for others, he was a dreamer. His deeds are still a challenge to those who try to understand the contradictions between his work and his action.

According to Jung, (1978b, pp. 101-2), a creative person is indeed “a duality or a synthesis of contradictory qualities. On the one side he is a human being with a personal life, while on the other he is an impersonal creative process”. In the standpoint of Jungian psychology, art is a kind of drive that seizes a human being and makes him its instrument. The artist allows art to realize its purposes through him. As a human being, he may have his aims, “but as an artist he is ‘man’ in a higher sense – he is a ‘collective man’, a vehicle and moulder of the unconscious psychic life of mankind”. The creative impulse can drain the artist of his humanity “to such a degree that the personal ego can exist only on a primitive or inferior level”, developing defects as ruthlessness, selfishness, vanity. That might, or not, have happened to Defoe.

Defoe’s success stimulated applauses as well as the envy of his contemporary peers, and has been defying critics and scholars since then. Critical heritage of the work, which I summarize in Chapter 2, stresses didactic, mythical, religious, social, cultural and economic aspects in the plot and its underlying discourse. Most of the evaluations of notable thinkers point out reasons for this strange fascination with the story of the castaway who lived on an uninhabited island for 28 years, rediscovering the world, work, nature, God and himself. All of them are plausible, I thought. Yet, none of them is sufficient, I felt. As the book embodied those values of the scientific and rational outlook of the late 17th century, how could it remain fashionable in the 21st century, if science itself has changed so much?

What exactly assures Defoe’s lasting success and popularity for as long as 287 years? Is there, beyond the literary text, a hidden truth known by our ancestors from the early 18th century? At first sight, it seemed to me that the novel was enriched by strong symbols that might speak to our imagination now as much as they probably

did when *Robinson Crusoe* was created. Hence, since symbols are the way our collective unconscious communicates, as C. G. Jung (1978) posits, it was necessary to discover what they tell us. But there was still more questioning: a book like *Robinson Crusoe*, I believed, is one of those works that affirm literature as "lessons of life". For me, every piece of literature is a "sacred scripture", and knowledge – even wisdom – may be accessed through aesthetic pleasure.

I intended to look at *Robinson Crusoe* this way. The general objective of this study is to examine the perspective of the readers of *Robinson Crusoe* or any *Robinsonade* nowadays, in a time when science has already left the classical mechanistic paradigm behind. Since the beginning of the 20th century, sciences that describe physical reality have gone through another deep revolution, developing a systemic and holistic vision. In this world which is completely different from that of Defoe's, scientists and philosophers, according to Andreeta (2004), affirm reality is permanently created by each one of us, and observer and object cannot be considered apart anymore. In these three centuries, in what senses would the human being have remained the same – inside his mind and inside his soul?

The specific objective of this research is to realize what exactly makes *Robinson Crusoe* so updated – since still popular – in 2006. One hypothesis is that, as it is inscribed in the readers' imaginary, it is not that original work postulated by some critics. Mythical images, which talk directly to the soul, according to Durand (1998), might be behind the words. Inheritor of the mythical and legendary contents of epic poems, ballads and tales orally told, literature diffused images from archaic life man kept alive inside his mind, as analytical psychology has proved (CAMPBELL, 1997). In this case, while reading a plain story as *Robinson Crusoe,* the readers would meet the primitive world inside themselves. Tracking what the images tell in a plain story

as *Robinson Crusoe* would lead me first to the analysis of the work in a fashion we do with fairy tales – through the symbols it presents.

Eventually, transdisciplinarity applied to the reading of the literary work turned possible to interconnect what has been said on the work and the new data I have gathered. Current science (physics) and analytic psychology agree that the exterior space (nature) and the interior space (mind) of human beings are two facets of one and the same world. Transdisciplinarity is a means to discover the bridges between them, through the dialogue of different areas of knowledge. Linking beings and things at the deepest level implies transcending levels of Reality, in order to escape from an endless chain of binary opposites, and to surpass contradictions.

Transdisciplinarity transgresses the duality of opposing binary pairs – subject-object, matter-consciousness, reductionism-holism. It allows, for instance, the paradoxical idea in the title of the present study. The dialogical principle, according to French thinker Edgar Morin (2003) one of the basis of complexity, reminds us of the alchemists, who, in the beginning of our civilization, dedicated their lives to achieve the “alchemical matrimony”, that is transforming the *prima materia* into the philosopher’s stone, reaching the *coniunctio oppositorum* - the fusion of opposites. This idea would be banished from the Western culture by the classic science of the Enlightenment, but would survive, latent and occult, until Romanticism brought it again to daylight.

It is very likely that Daniel Defoe did not have any idea of the alchemical work, or, at least, he was not interested in such philosophical things, once his was a time of more mundane concerns in his homeland – wars, the plague, the fire, religious persecution, increasing trade, colonialism - which determined complete changes in the economic and social orders. Yet, the old quest remained latent in modern times,

and regained power with the discoveries of quantum physics, analytic psychology and cognitive sciences. This is a basic statement of transdisciplinary studies: *contraria sunt complementa* (contraries are complementary), as Morin (*op. cit.*) emphasizes in his method of thinking.

The transdisciplinary reading, connecting story, discourse and symbols, with their elements woven together, as complex thinking requires, unveils, from the rich sources of significations already identified and pointed out in Defoe's work by its notable readers, if not new certainties, at least different interrogations. The work of criticism offers a reading performed simultaneously at several levels – story, discourse, images -, although by no means in hierarchical sequence. A deeper level of reading would be that of the potentialities, perhaps in the domain of the sacred, as it is considered by transdisciplinarity. It would involve subject (reader) and object (work) in a process that would necessarily imply experience, not only observation. The result would be reaching wholeness, through the aesthetic experience. This could be what has been leading *Robinson Crusoe* to its lasting success.

The present thesis was styled according to Brazilian technical norms for academic works, established by Associação Brasileira de Normas Técnicas (ABNT). As Edgar Morin's books on Complex Thinking have not been translated into English, I have read them in their translations into Portuguese. Therefore, when Morin's words appear in quotations extremely necessary for emphasis in the text, translations are mine.

1 FROM HISTORY TO THE SPHERE OF MYTH[1]

Actions receive their tincture from the times,
And as they change are virtues made of crimes.

Daniel Defoe, *A Hymn to the Pillory* (1703)

When scientific pedagogy started to be applied in European schools, specially in Germany, in the late 18th century, educational theorists, as Johann Friedriech Herbart and his follower Tuiskon Ziller, adopted *Robinson Crusoe* as a didactic book for elementary school. They thought Defoe's novel could perfectly allow the adoption of two main principles in teaching children. The first was the principle of the parallelism in the stages of the education of a child and the stages through which mankind has raised to civilization. The other was the principle of connectedness, preaching that education did not consist in a loose aggregate of disconnected studies of language, history, geography, arithmetic and the like. On the contrary, in each class it was necessary to define some center around which the various studies were to be grouped. Also each separate study had to be connected with that central study by numerous threads of thought and illustration. The timetable had to be so arranged that various subjects of study formed a connected whole (ROOPER, 1903).

The eighteenth-century German conception of education, still detached from the thoughts of fragmentation that modern science was introducing at that time, identified in Defoe's fiction the appropriate material to teach children the contents of all disciplines together, in a way similar to that suggested by Edgar Morin nowadays (see Chapter 3). It seemed as if *Robinson Crusoe* would act in class as a teachers' "man Friday". Incidentally, this expression "man Friday", which etymologically refers

to the famous character Friday, created by Defoe, became a popular way, in English, to refer to “an efficient, faithful male aide or employee”. The American Heritage Dictionary (2000) registers the term as well as its feminine – “girl Friday” - and its plural forms – “men Friday” or “men Fridays”.

The current popular use of this expression evidences the impact of *Robinson Crusoe* on a number of generations of readers. The book had two speedy opportunist sequels – *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: Being the Second and Last Part of his Life*, and *Serious Reflections during the Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: With his Vision of the Angelick World* -, but has not been considered a trilogy. The new “surprising adventures” have never fascinated the readers to the extent of the initial volume, so that the popular title *Robinson Crusoe* refers always to the first book. Published anonymously, though, according to Watt (1996), the first edition had the portrait of Defoe, the work was supposed to be regarded as historically true, not as a work of fiction. Having “attained a universal and international status”, in the 19th century, Robinson Crusoe, as the literary characters of Faustus, Don Quixote and Don Juan, became a figure “seen not as actual historical person, but not merely as invented fiction either” (*ibid.*, p. xv).

1.1 The work: a novelty from a changed world

Robinson Crusoe is a phenomenon since the moment it was first published, appearing to the public on 25 April 1719. The work followed the custom as to the length of the title -*The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner: Who lived Eight and Twenty Years all alone in an uninhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River of Oroonoque; Having*

been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself, With An Account how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by Pirates. Written by himself – but, on the other hand, it instituted an innovation in narrative. According to Watt (1964), it. became a landmark in the history of fiction exactly because it introduced realism - truth discovered by the individual through his senses. "*Robinson Crusoe* is certainly the first novel in the sense that it is the first fictional narrative in which an ordinary person's daily activities are the center of continuous literary attention", asserts Watt (1996, p. 74).

The critic states that the novel – a purported account of the actual experiences of individuals at particular times and places, instead of universals, in a realistic way, replacing the idealism of classical times - must be seen as a manifestation of a larger change in the Western civilization, after spiritual and social crises in all Europe, in search for a New Order. This revolution in the way of thinking, which started in 16th century, with the scientific discoveries, changed also the system of values in the Western world. The universe started to be seen as a machine, according to René Descartes (1596-1650). Isaac Newton (1643-1727), in his *Principia* (1687), described nature through mathematics. The "certainties" which arose with the new science highlighted modern times, when scientist-philosophers were concerned with efficient causes[2]. Their priority was to study the mechanism, find out how it worked, in order to control and manipulate it. The pursuit of truth, in the modern assumption, became an individual matter, and the individual life was inserted in a historical process - according to John Locke (1632-1704), with time and place well defined.

The revolution in religious and scientific thought led to changes in political, economic and social organization, and to an ideology based not on the tradition of the past, but on the autonomy of the individual. As a result, the rise of capitalism,

along with a more democratic political system, brought an increase of economic specialization and a less rigid social structure. As Watt (1964) remarks, in the new economic order, social arrangements were not based on the family, the church, the guild, the township or other collective unit any longer: the individual was primarily responsible for determining his own economic, social, political and religious roles. Immediately after the Glorious Revolution[3] in England, in 1689, the commercial and industrial classes achieved great political and economic power, and this power, according to Watt (*op. cit.*), was reflected in literature, as the reading public increased with the middle classes of the towns.

The new literary tradition began earlier and more effectively in England than elsewhere as a result of the changes in the reading public. There is not an estimation of the size of this public, but the increase of the circulation of newspapers and periodicals is an evidence to be considered: 43,800 copies sold weekly in 1704, and 23,673 copies sold daily in 1753, although the numbers were still very small, taking into account a total population of more than 5 million people. Also the sales of the most popular books in the period show a public numbered only in tens of thousands (*ibid.*). Yet, the number of printing presses in London was rising (70 in 1724 and 150 to 200 in 1757), and, according to Porter (1991, p. 234), “the output of prints, pamphlets, cartoons and ballads rose and rose, but the market was never saturated” in the 18th century, when there was a “thirst for print”. The factors that limited the reading public – illiteracy and the high cost of printed works – were also changing.

Watt (*op. cit.*) mentions an estimation of three-fourths of the poor that could not read, and evidences that in the country many small farmers, their families, and the labourers were quite illiterate; in the towns, soldiers, sailors and other poor people could not read either. The author states that opportunities for learning to read seem

to have been available, in endowed grammar schools and English schools, charity schools, and others, but attendance was usually too short and irregular. Children of the lower classes often left school at the age of six or seven, because they had to work in the fields or the factories. The economic factor was also obstacle to buy books. Defoe himself estimated the average incomes of the main social groups in 1709[4], showing that more than a half of the total population could not afford books or newspapers. If not too busy trying to establish themselves, those people who composed the great new middle-class were prepared to pay good money to read and improve their knowledge (EARLE, 1977).

According to Porter (1991), books cost from 7 shillings and 6 pennies to a guinea[5]. Pirated editions (equivalent of paperbacks) and second-hand copies were cheaper, and for just one guinea or two a year people could subscribe books available in circulating libraries. Those libraries stocked all types of literature, but novels were their main attraction, as Watt (1964) points out, to schoolboys, ploughboys, servants, cobblers, tinkers, butchers, and especially household women, who had then much more leisure than previously – the old duties of spinning and weaving, making bread, beer, soap, candles, and many others were no longer necessary, since those goods were already produced and could be bought at shops and markets. Moreover, there were still other possibilities of reading *Robinson Crusoe*, for example, without paying five shillings a copy of the original edition: as newspapers began to do, *The Original London Post*, a thrice-weekly journal, reprinted the novel in serialized form, and the editors did the same in cheap duodecimos and chapbooks.

Daniel Defoe had already surpassed four hundred printed writings when he created *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. The

success was immediate: William Taylor, the editor, issued six successive editions, each one of about one thousand copies, in the first months of circulation. This number became 700 in one century and an account taken in 1879, according to Zaleski (1966), found 1,198 editions in English alone, disregarding translations into several languages. The success of Defoe's work can be most clearly evaluated by uncountable imitations, parodies and adaptations it has motivated along these three centuries of existence (*see* Chapter 1.4). As Shinagel (1994) points out, the widespread appeal of Crusoe's story is evidenced by the publication of an abridged piracy by T. Cox in August of that same year, on sale for only two shillings, and the serialization in the *Original London Post*, starting in October.

Still in August, Taylor published Defoe's *Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, and the following year, *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. In the preface of the former, Defoe (1994) ponders that the pirated abridgment of his work is "as scandalous, as it is knavish and ridiculous", arguing that while shortening the book, "they strip it of all those Reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest Beautys of the Work, but are calculated for the infinite Advantage of the Reader" (p. 239). In *Serious Reflections*, Robinson Crusoe, as author also of the earlier volumes, defends himself against charges that his life-story is not true, that he is not a real person, but a fictional character. In the preface, he writes, "I Robinson Crusoe (…) do affirm, that the Story, though Allegorical, is also Historical". Comparing his protagonist with Don Quixote, the signatory Robinson Crusoe assures "there is a Man alive, and well known too, the Actions of whose Life are the just Subject of these volumes, and to whom all or most Part of the Story most directly alludes" (DEFOE, 1994a, p. 240).

According to Ellis (1969), Defoe did not only face the accusations that his book was “Fictions and Lies”, as, for example, Charles Gildon called it (*see* Chapter 2), but, conversely, the suspicion that he was not the author of that work, successively attributed to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Dr. John Arbuthnot, the Queen’s physician, and Sir Richard Steele. Watt (1996) identifies two clues as to Defoe’s thought about this novel that would become his most famous work: first, his insistence that the story should be regarded as historically true, despite being an allegory. His statement, “It is as reasonable to represent one kind of Imprisonment by another, as it is to represent any Thing that really exists, by that which exists not”[6] (DEFOE, 1994a, p. 242) would mean that Crusoe was Defoe himself. The second clue is in the first chapter of the *Serious Reflections* (DEFOE,1994c, p. 244), entitled *Of Solitude*: “it seems to me that life in general is, or ought to be, but one universal act of solitude”. That allows Watt (*op. cit.*, p. 150) to believe that “Defoe thought of his work both as a representation of his personal experiences of life, and at the same time as a text with a larger symbolic meaning”.

Whether the story of Robinson Crusoe is an allegorical autobiography or not is impossible to ascertain, but the image of the man in goatskins, carrying a musket and an axe, and sheltered by his great umbrella, became an icon of a stranded castaway. Scholars agree that Defoe had at least one model for that sole survivor of a shipwreck who manages to build himself a house, grow crops, and live for 28 years on an island, most part of this time alone, quite comfortably by means of working hard and creating appliances. As at that time unsuccessful maritime travels were quite frequent, there were many contemporary accounts of marooned men that could be at the genesis of *Robinson Cruso*e, but the source of Defoe’s novel, as Shinagel (1994) puts it, has commonly been attributed to Alexander Selkirk, a Scottish sailor

put ashore on the Island of Juan Fernandez, in the Pacific Ocean, about 400 miles off the coast of Chile, in the first years of the 18th century. Selkirk survived a solitary life for four years and four months until he was rescued in 1709.

Severin (2002), who traveled in search for the "real" Robinson Crusoe, however, asserts that Selkirk is not Crusoe's prototype. "Crusoe, like his island, is a composite" (p. 19). The "Island of Despair", as the castaway called it, is a "terrain of imagination", according to Severin (p. 16). "There is now no such solid island near the mouth of the Orinoco. Nor was there one in Defoe's time". The setting for Robinson Crusoe's story, however, was so well constructed in Defoe's mind, that it allowed Manguel; Guadalupe (1999) to present a map of the island and a complete description of its geography. "The remains of the three camps he built can be visited", the authors kid (p. 148). This kind of joke fits Defoe's own style: the first edition of *Farther Adventures* had a map of the world, in which the voyages of Robinson Crusoe were delineated. On this map, North America includes a large region identified as Florida, and California appears as an island. Latin America is designated as New Spain, and a short distance further south the Caribbean region, appears "R. Crusoe's I".

Defoe might have taken his ideas on the geography of the place, according to Severin (*op. cit.*), from a map printed in 1697 by the buccaneer captain William Dampier, in *A New Voyage Round the World*, where three small Caribbean islands were marked. Novak (2001) asserts that Defoe used to create fiction through drawing information from a wide variety of sources; hence the story of Selkirk, told by Captain Woodes Rogers, who rescued the sailor, in *A Cruising Voyage Round the World*, published in 1718, might indeed have contributed some data to Robinson Crusoe, as well as other accounts of marooned men published by William Dampier, Edward

Cooke and Richard Steele. Severin (2002) found that Defoe's concept of Man Friday was shaped by events that Dampier witnessed, on the shores of the Caribbean Sea in 1680 – the researcher met the Indian tribe that would hold "Friday's" descendants, on the Moskito Coast of Nicaragua. Severin also concluded that an English surgeon marooned on a desert island off the Caribbean coast of Venezuela provided the raw material for the adventures of the world's most famous castaway.

The story of Henry Pitman, who had taken part in the unsuccessful rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth against King James II[7], had been sent to the Caribbean Islands as convict, sentenced to forced labor, sold in Barbados as slave, escaped and lived alone on an island, as Robinson Crusoe, was published as a little book thirty years before Defoe wrote his novel. Pitman's account has many situations akin to those of Crusoe's story. Even the title is similar: *A Relation of the great suffering and strange adventures of Henry Pitman, Chirurgeon*. Nevertheless, even if Alexander Selkirk is the source of inspiration, and Henry Pitman provides details to his creation, "ultimately Crusoe springs from Defoe's imagination", according to Severin (*op. cit.,* p. 323), in agreement with Novak (2001, p. 539), to whom the shaping of *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* was "pure inspiration". Yet, other elements must be considered in this conclusion: Defoe's own experiences and interests.

Robinson Crusoe begins with the dilemma of a dutiful son who rejects the occupation that his father has chosen for him and wants to go to the sea. Backscheider (1989) remarks that this occupation is the law, the same profession that Defoe's son Benjamin rejected. To Backscheider, the opening pages of the novel evince that the writer's relationship with his older son had been stormy. Novak (2001) notes that so little is known of Defoe's children (Mary, Maria, Hannah,

Benjamin, Henrietta, Daniel, Margaret, and Sophia) that his biographers tend do avoid the subject. The name of the protagonist did not come from the author's family, but probably from a former schoolmate, Timothy Cruso, of high reputation as a preacher and a casuist (HUNTER, 1994a). The critic also mentions the possibility that the name "Crusoe" refered to the island Curaçao, which Defoe spelled Curasoe, in the Caribbean Sea, or that Defoe had derived the name linguistically through Creutznaer, as Crusoe says the original name of his family is. Details aside, it is possible that the story brought implicitly still another content – Defoe's interest in new English colonies.

Coetzee (1999, p. ix) asserts that *Robinson Crusoe* is "unabashed propaganda for the extension of British mercantile power in the New World and the establishment of new British colonies". In his writings on economic matters, Defoe manifested a concern with the market for English goods (EARLE, 1977). For that reason he was "a tireless proponent of colonization", and the development of new markets and improved trade routes, according to Backscheider (1989, p. 439). Severin (2002) reminds us that the writer spent years lobbying for the foundation of new English colonies in Central and South America and gathering information about the best possible sites for them. Novak (2001, p. 546) states that "certainly one impulse behind *Robinson Crusoe* was a colonial enterprise": in the *Weekly Journal* of 7 February 1719, Defoe had announced a new scheme for a colony at the mouth of the Orinoco River. Backscheider's conclusion (1989, p. 511) is that "Defoe's plan for his country was nothing less than world domination. Trade, not military might, would make this conquest".

Notwithstanding the economic or political intentions, the power of Crusoe's story must prominently lay on the adventure plot created by Defoe. Despite being criticized

by Charles Gildon (*see* Chapter 2) and others for discouraging men from going to the sea, according to Backsheider (1989), *Robinson Crusoe* cast an irresistible spell on children. The fact is that “English boys ached to go to the sea”, as Porter states (1991, p. 8). Jean-Jacques Rousseau might have reinforced this standpoint in his work *Émile* (*see* Chapter 2), as Watt (1996, p. 175) posits, indicating *Robinson Crusoe* as a book for “that happy age” of childhood, for “obvious reasons: it has no sex, no complicated plot, no sophisticated conversations, only a man in the position of a child, imagining how he can secure his daily needs all on his own”.

When Defoe’s novel was first published in an abridged and unauthorized version, followed by dozens of chapbook editions during the 18th century, it was enthusiastically read by children, according to Shavit (1986), due to the lack of other literature written specifically for them. Books specially written for children would become a cultural field only from the middle of that same century onwards, on account of the Puritans in England and America. They shared the view that children needed books different from literature for adults in the process of their education. The concept of children literature, with enlarged or abridged texts from adult’s books, was dominant as an educational tool. The model of the fairy tale became acceptable in England only after Romanticism introduced and developed imagination and rejected realism, although realism did continue to prevail (*ibid.*).

Although the main aim of children’s books was to awake in boys and girls the desire for spiritual salvation, the Puritan establishment was forced to accept ‘amusement’ as one of the components, in order to increase the book’s appeal, as Shavit (1986) puts it. Adjustments in the text were made in order not only to turn it appropriate to the child, but also in accordance with what was regarded as “good for the child”. Some changes had ideological purposes, as in the translation to German

made by Joachim Campe (1746-1818), titled *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779-80), in which he aimed to adapt Defoe's novel to Rousseau's pedagogical system – Robinson Crusoe is naked and has no weapons, food or anything else. Rooper (1903) points out that it was the book the German philanthropist school of educators needed. In the classes of the German philosopher and educator Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) and Tuiskon Ziller (1817-1882), it was turned into a school book.

According to Rooper (*op. cit.*), Herbart thought that after the age of eight, the child prefers to read books in which the heroes are grown men, therefore Defoe's work suited the thoughts and ideas of children in the second year of school. Rooper assures that Defoe's influence never died in England and in the world. With a regret for having not read the book as a child, Bloom (1987) identifies other elements that guarantee that to this day "the book cannot fail with children" (p. 2):

> *Crusoe's singular tone, his self-baffled affect, does not bother children, who appear to empathize with a near-perfect solipsist who nevertheless exhibits energy and inventiveness throughout a quarter-century of solitude. Perhaps Crusoe's survival argues implicitly against every child's fear of dependency and prophesies the longed-for individuality that is still to come. Or perhaps every child's loneliness is answered in Crusoe's remarkable strength at sustaining solitude.*

Robinson Crusoe also served as a model for the Robinsonades, which became prominent in children's literature (*see* Chapter 1.3). Abridged versions of the novel continued to appear even in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but then issued for young people only. Shavit (1986*,* p. 116) remarks, "as the abridged text became a classic for children, it simultaneously lost its position in the adult system", only its historical value remaining. Perhaps known better by way of the abridged editions, *Robinson Crusoe,* though a story considered delightful, has frequently lost an important part of its content, as Zaleski (1996) puts it. Shavit (*op. cit.*) states that it managed to be preserved in the canonized children's literature probably due to that ideological

adjustment. In this author's view, Campe's adaptation, despite being, from the ideological point of view, practically a different text, retaining only some of the original setting, was the main reason for *Robinson Crusoe* to become a classic for children.

Zaleski (1996) reread the classics of his youth, and was surprised at the damages caused by the abridged version of his memory. "It was not only Robinson's character that was different, but the very significance of his shipwreck, the very meaning of his life". Zaleski was still more astonished at the fact that what was missing from the childhood book, as he remarks, was hardly material one would wish to hide from children, on the contrary, "any parent would most want his child to read". Afterwards Zaleski examined other abridgements of Defoe's work, and he found that all of them had the same characteristic, "all the religion had been excised. Again and again, one particular word – God - had been removed, along with every scene inspired by that word". This scenario would change only in the 20th century, as it will be shown in Chapter 2, on the critical heritage of *Robinson Crusoe*.

1.2 Old imagery in a new way of thinking

Even if a literary innovation, *Robinson Crusoe* might have roots in former literary traditions, as the accounts of travels, or those fictionalized trips or utopian stories that were popular especially in Renaissance, many of them precursors of modern science fiction (HAUSER, 1998). As Backscheider (1989, p. 429) posits, the best-selling books of the early 18th century were sermons and travel literature, and Defoe "had read them with pleasure since childhood and owned many of them". The biographer adds that "the similarities between some of the earlier travel books and

Robinson Crusoe illustrate how derivative Defoe's book is but also how much Defoe contributed to the development of the novel".

One century before Defoe, William Shakespeare (1564-1616), using information on a shipwreck near Bermuda islands in 1609 or 1610, and stories of castaways which used to appear in *commedia dell'arte*, had already explored the issue in one of his last works, written in 1611, as well as in other plays. In *The Tempest* (SHAKESPEARE, 1994), Prospero, the deposed Duke of Milan, and his daughter Miranda have been marooned at an uninhabited island, having as company the sprite Ariel and Caliban, son of the witch Sycorax. With magical power, Prospero causes a tempest, in order to bring the ship with his usurping brother Antonio and his ally Alonso to the island. When Ferdinand, son of Alonso, King of Naples, falls in love with Miranda, Prospero is restored to his Dukedom.

At that time, unsuccessful maritime travels were quite frequent, as well as the accounts on them by shipwrecked or marooned men, and travel journals have certainly influenced Daniel Defoe. As Severin (2002) puts it, when Defoe died, twelve years after writing Crusoe's story, his private library was sold at public auction, and the auctioneer's bill of sale reports several volumes of travel books which might have provided details for the novel. Although the mentioned catalogue, kept now in the British Museum, presents the books of an also deceased Cambridge fellow along with Defoe's, scholars ascribe to the English author the books on history, travel, geography, natural history, and mines. Raleigh's *History of the World*, *History of the West Indies,* by Bartholomé de las Casas, and several narratives of buccaneers, pirates and privateers are among them.

In the opinion of Backscheider (1989), however, Defoe "subverts the form of the travel book" by giving a big amount of details (p. 429). As Hunter (1969) puts it,

Defoe's work in no manner follows the conventional pattern of travel tradition, which encompasses much geographical information as well as accounts on discoveries of new places, native peoples, animals and plants. In travel literature, the description serves the narrative, which often merely connects the various described items. Hunter notes that *Robinson Crusoe* is more like contemporary adventure stories, with information subordinated to events. Adventure stories may involve travel to far-off places, usually described as an undertaking, a heroic quest, with the protagonist facing serious dangers.

Whether patterned on the travel or on the adventure traditions, it is possible, therefore, to search *Robinson Crusoe*'s germ in the Greek epic *Odyssey,* by Homer (700 B.C.), the narrative of Odysseus and his journey home from the Trojan War. According to Gillis (2004, p. 5), "any history of islomania must begin with the *Odyssey*", the work through which the Greeks created what Eliade (1996) refers to as a "mythical geography". As Hunter (1969) states, however, Defoe's book is not fact-centered rather than idea-centered, as those mentioned stories and reports, which lack ideological content. If Robinson Crusoe is not a mere adventurer, there might have been other influences on the famous castaway's story. Islands had long been considered scenes for speculation on ideal existence – an Eden.

Defoe's work may be seen as a quest for a utopian state in human's life, and in this case its predecessor could be considered Plato's *Republic* (360 B.C.), specifically the *Dialogues* with Timeus and Critias, in which the Greek philosopher (427 BC – 347 BC) tells about a noble civilization in a great island in the Atlantic Ocean. According to Plato (1999), Atlantis's powerful dynasty of kings arose directly from Poseidon, god of sea and of earthquakes, although mixing with mortal stock gradually diluted this divine and heroic lineage. The resulting degeneration of the

civilization led it into a war with its former ally, Athens, and culminated in its cataclysmic destruction, which Plato dates in 9,000 years previously. There were earthquakes and floods of extraordinary violence, and in a single day and night all fighting men were swallowed up by the earth, and the island of Atlantis was similarly swallowed up by the sea and vanished.

As Plato's work evinces, utopias are far older than their name, which was created by English humanist Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), in the 16th century, and indeed might have impelled Defoe to imagine *Robinson Crusoe*'s living on the island. *The City of God* (De Civitate Dei), written by Saint Augustine (354-430) in 413-426, for instance, enunciated the theocratic ideal that dominated visionary thinking in the Middle Ages, describing an ideal city, the archetype of all Christian utopias. More created the word "utopia" to suggest two Greek neologisms simultaneously: *outopia* (no place) and *eutopia* (good place). His *Libellus... de Optimo Reipublicae Statu deque Nova Insula Utopia* (Concerning the highest state of the republic and the new island Utopia), or simply *Utopia* (c. 1516), pictures an ideal state where all is ordered for the best for humanity as a whole and where the evils of society, such as poverty and misery, have been eliminated.

Written in Latin, *Utopia* was inspired by Plato's *Republic*, the accounts of explorers such as Amerigo Vespucci, and largely based on the voyages of More himself, specifically to the Netherlands. The book's second part is a description of the island kingdom, where gold and silver are worn only by criminals (as chains), religious freedom is total, and no one owns anything. The description of Utopia is put in the mouth of a mysterious traveler, Raphael Hythloday, who discovered the island on a voyage to the newly discovered America, and makes an analogy between the

great voyages of discovery and discoveries of the mind, in support of the argument against selfishness in private and public life.

Property, an issue so precious to Crusoe, had been discussed in two former utopian works. *The City of the Sun* (1623), by Italian Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), shows a communist state, imagined as an ideal republic professing a natural religion, directed by universal laws -- a state ruled by philosopher-priests. The head of this state is King Sun who is assisted by three ministers, Power, Wisdom, Love. In this republic all property and private homes and family are abolished. Published in 1656, *Oceana*, by James Harrington (1611-1677), makes an exposition of an ideal constitution, with two main ideas: the determining element of power in a state is property, particularly in land, and the executive power ought not to be vested for any considerable time in the same men or class of men. In accordance with the first idea, Harrington recommends an agrarian law, limiting holdings of land, and consequently insisting on particular modes of distributing landed property. "Oceana" means England, and the lawgiver Olphaus Megaletor represents Oliver Cromwell.

Even though considered incomplete by some, *The New Atlantis,* published one year after the death of English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626), has proven to be one of the most influential books of that time. Bacon's work tells of a "lost civilization" that lives in harmony and peace. Their society is dedicated to the accumulation of knowledge and the study of science and nature, their division of labor being akin to that of a modern research institute, a social embodiment of the ideal of Reason. In *The New Atlantis*, Bacon (1999) depicts a mythical land, Bensalem, where one of the wise men describes their system of invention and discovery of new things through the method of experimentation, which is called the "riches of Salomon's House".

Other sources of inspiration for *Robinson Crusoe* might have been those books belonging in the subgenre “fantastic voyages”, of which the oldest example is the Sumerian epic *Gilgamesh*, from the third millennium b.C., older than Homer's *Odyssey*. *Somnium* or *Dream*, by Johannes Kepler (1571-1630), published posthumously (1634) by his son, is one of the most audacious pioneers of this kind of literature. Written in Latin, Kepler’s is a revolutionary work (CHRISTIANSON, 1976) that tells the adventures of a young man in a lunar exploration. The book was influenced by the satirical *A True Story* (stories about a voyage to the moon) by Syrian Lucian (c.120-190 AD) and *The Face of the Moon* by Greek Plutarch (c.46-c.120). French Savien Cyrano de Bergerac (1619-1655) also wrote imaginary *Voyages to the Moon and Sun* (1656, 1662), satirizing the people and politics of his time.

Among the religious predecessors of *Robinson Crusoe* we will find writings of Daniel Defoe himself, who worked in the guide tradition, according to Hunter (1994) not through the typical Puritan moralist method, but emphasizing example rather than exhortation. Popular from the 17th century onwards, guide literature pointed out how readers should live to achieve salvation. *The Family Instructor*, published in two volumes shortly before *Robinson Crusoe*, reached great popularity and several editions, telling the story of Christianization of a family. Hunter states that ideas in the guide tradition and the Puritan mind became embodied in *Robinson Crusoe.* Also “Providence” literature affords many parallels to Defoe’s work, once it reflects the pattern of Christian experience central to the Puritan myth.

Hunter reminds us that Defoe had himself written Providence literature, as in *Journal of the Plague Year*, and thus he was familiar with its ideas and conventions. The author argues that, original as Defoe is in *Robinson Crusoe*, he has inspiration from

other Puritan literary traditions – as the spiritual biography and pilgrim allegory. Spiritual biographies, Hunter points out, share the pattern of the sequence rebellion-punishment-repentance-deliverance as characteristic to fallen men who receive God's grace, while pilgrimage provides an allegory of the journey through life of a real person. *Grace Abounding* (1666) and *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), by English writer John Bunyan (1628-1688), might have been the ancestry of the story on the Island of Despair.

The image of the noble savage, later developed by Jean Jacques Rousseau, which was pictured by Defoe through the character Friday, and the colonial theme – a realistic background - were foreshadowed by English female writer Aphra Behn (1640-1689) in the 1688 short prose narrative *Oroonoko; or The Royal Slave: A True History*. Behn (1997) tells the misfortune of Oroonoko, the grandson of an African King, and his beloved Imoinda, the daughter of the king's main general. As the girl does not accept becoming one of the king's wives, she is sold as a slave, while a slaver captures Oroonoko. The two lovers are carried to Surinam, an English colony based on sugarcane plantations, in the West Indies, where Oroonoko organizes a slave revolt, and both die.

1.3 Desert island stuff: the Robinsonades

Dictionaries register that a "desert island" is an "uninhabited island", but do not mention the expression as a qualifier of nouns. Under the general expression "desert island stuff", however, a search tool on the Internet indicates almost a million websites whose issues are lists of things one would choose to be stranded with on a desert island - "desert island books", "desert island films", "desert island" CDs, DVDs, music, or "must-haves". In a list like those made by Robinson Crusoe while accounting his goods, the hypothetical marooned people point out which cultural

items can give spiritual support and would probably help someone to survive in the exile from home on the imaginary setting of a literary island. In a British radio program, *Desert Island Discs*, according to Redden; Macdonald (2001), the guests have to select records and books they would choose to take to a remote island.

Also in the Web, nowadays, we find thousands of jokes and cartoons which in the past were recurrent in magazines and newspapers, presenting funny situations about a man stuck on a desert island. The image of the individual alone in an island – whether a marooned sailor, a shipwrecked traveler or, in contemporary fiction, a backpacker tourist – is familiar to nearly everyone in the Western world since *Robinson Crusoe* appeared on the bookstores, in 1719. According to J. M. Coetzee (199, p. v), like Odysseus and Quixote, Robinson Crusoe "has become a figure in the collective consciousness of the West, transcending the book which – in its multitude of editions, translations, imitations, and adaptations ('Robinsonades') – celebrates his adventures".

Redden; Macdonald (*op. cit.*) emphasize that "Defoe's book established an ideological framework for the development of the desert island story, or 'Robinsonade', during the 19th century". The authors point out a model for configurations of culture and nature "in harmony with the culture of empire", and state, "imperialism was a historical precondition of the emergence of these desert island adventures". Yet, despite the fact that colonization is the literal subject matter of most of those stories, the desert island tradition articulated with other discourses and gained specific cultural meanings through different contexts. They mention, as example, the contemporary movie *Cast Away*[8], which "sanctifies a neoliberal globalist capitalism, not the British imperialism".

Nevertheless, the Robinsonades became a tradition in narrative, according to Redden; Macdonalds (2001), because “the values of adventurism and heroism which the simplified geography of the island has been used to accentuate are still highly relevant in contemporary western capitalist culture”. The authors state that the success of “reality shows” on TV such as *Survivor* (USA), *Shipwrecked* (UK) and *Treasure Island* (Australia) illustrates the way desert island stories “express values previously conveyed by the genre in combination with ones pertaining more specifically to their cultural moments”.

The issues of colonization, isolation, nature, savagery, civilization and others raised by the book of Daniel Defoe turned the work of the 18th century British writer an authentic paradigm – or a prototype – for a subgenre in narratives. Countless books telling the adventures of a man, a woman, children, a whole family or a group on a previously uninhabited island have been written since then, and many of these stories were transformed into images by the cinema. Some of them became almost as famous as its model, as *The Swiss Family Robinson* (Der Schweizerische Robinson), by Johann David Wyss (1743-1848), published by his son Johann Rudolph Wyss in 1812, a pedagogic work about the Robinsons, who decide to leave Switzerland and go to Australia. During their voyage, they shipwreck on a desert island, and have to learn how to survive and live apart from civilization. The book by Wyss (1993) has plenty of information on botany.

Scottish novelist R. M. Ballantyne (1825-1894) wrote *The Coral Island* (1858), the story of three young English boys who are shipwrecked on a deserted island of the Pacific. Ballantyne (1994) makes them build their own house, make fire, gather fruits, build boats to explore neighboring paradisiacal islands, and Christianize two friendly savages. After many unpleasant yet instructive experiences, they are

rescued by an English missionary. Some years later (1874), French author Jules Verne (1828-1905) published *Mysterious Island* (L'île Mystérieuse), telling how five Americans are marooned in a desert island after flying away with a balloon during the Civil War. In Verne's story (2004), they organize their lives using the resources of the island, assisted by Cyrus Smith, a scientist.

In the 20th century, the modern aircraft updated the ship travel, in the story of English novelist William Golding (1911-1993), who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1983. In *Lord of the Flies* (1954), a plane with a group of children evacuated from England, during wartime, gets shot in the middle of the ocean. The children are left all alone on an uninhabited island. There, according to Golding (1997), the boys attempt to create their ideal society, but it degenerates from democratic and rational to tyrannical, bloodthirsty and evil. Some boys are violently killed before the appearance of adults.

In the post-modern and post-colonialist satire *Foe*, written in 1986 by South African writer J. M. Coetzee (1940-), also a Nobel Prize winner (2003), it is a woman who narrates the story of "Cruso" on the island, where she, herself a shipwrecked, has been for one year. Another female castaway on a desert island had already appeared in British 1767 novel *The Female American, or the Extraordinary Adventures of Unka Eliza Winkfield, Compiled by Herself*, by an anonymous author. As Elias [2005] puts it, the protagonist, who is of mixed race, lives alone in the wilds of the New World, independently interacting with both Native Americans and visiting Europeans.

French writer Michel Tournier (1924-) became famous with his parody *Man Friday* (Vendredi ou les Limbes du Pacifique), which gave him the 1967 Grand Prix du Roman of the French Academy. He also wrote another version of *Robinson*

Crusoe, *Vendredi ou La vie* sauvage, destined to young readers. In Tournier's version, after shipwrecking, Robinson is left stranded on a desert island with his dog as his only companion. But they soon meet Friday (Vendredi), a mulatto who teaches Robinson that there are, after all, better things in life than civilization. The act of civilizing Friday as it was imagined by Defoe is also subverted in a 1972 theatre play, named, as Tournier's work, *Man Friday*, by British poet Adrian Mitchell. In the productions for television and stage, the anti-colonial play approaches the story from the point of view of Friday.

According to Coppedge [2005], Mitchell's script, also turned into a movie by Jack Gold (*Man Friday*, 1975), "offers the most heavily revisionist version of the Crusoe myth". The cinema was attracted by Defoe's story since its very beginning: a black and white 50 minutes silent *Robinson Crusoe* from 1900, directed by Joseph Kane, was recently discovered. Pictures made in 1916, 1922 (in 18 episodes), 1926, and 1932 (with Douglas Fairbanks Jr.) can be found in VHS and DVD, among dozens of Robinsonades made from the silent movies time onwards. After *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* filmed in 1952 by surrealist Mexican director Luis Buñuel, two other serious versions of Defoe's book were produced: *Crusoe*, by Caleb Deschanel (1988), and *Robinson Crusoe,* by Rod Hardy and George Miller, starring Pierce Brosnan (1996).

Besides bizarre movies as *The Erotic Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (Ken Dixon, 1975), the movie industry followed the novels' trend and updated the shipwreck to aircraft or even spaceship accidents. We have *Robinson Crusoe on Mars* (Byron Haskin, 1964), *Lost in Space*, by Irwin Allen, a TV series of 83 episodes (1965-68), *Land of the Lost*, a TV series of 43 episodes, by Marty Krofft (1974-76), and the recent *Castaway*, by Robert Zemeckis (2000), with Tom Hanks. The adventure of Robinson Crusoe was lived also by a whole family – as in the above

mentioned *The Swiss Family Robinson* and *Lost in Space* –, and by children (as in *The Blue Lagoon*, by Randal Kleiser, 1980, and by William Graham, 1991, and *Lord of the Flies* (Peter Brooks, 1963). In 2004, the adventure was extended to a group of adult people, survivors of a plane crash on a mysterious deserted island, in the American TV series *Lost*, created by Jeffrey Lieber, J.J. Abrams and Damon Lindelof.

1.4 The author: writer-for-hire, but a success

At the age of fifty-nine, in spite of the huge success of his first fictional work, *Robinson Crusoe*, Daniel Defoe still did not accomplish to gain the confidence of his contemporaries. Actually, to the present day the author "remains misunderstood and frequently underestimated" (CURTIS, 1984, p. 7). Though considered enigmatic – because apparently contradictory in his acts and opinions, according to his biographers -, Defoe is a figure of prominence in English literature. Critics and scholars acknowledge he was one of the most prolific writers (he wrote more than 500 works) and one of the most widely read authors of all time in Western World. As Byrd puts it (1976, p. 2), Defoe "changed the face of English Literature". The father of the novel (WATT, 1964) was also the founder of the modern journalism, a pioneer of propaganda, and took part in and/or reported on nearly every major political, religious and social controversy of one of the most tumultuous periods of English history.

When Daniel Defoe[9] was born, in London, in the fall of 1660[10], Charles Stuart (Charles II) was restored to the English throne, after 11 years of Republic in Britain. As Abrams *et al.* (1999) put it, at that moment England was a nation exhausted by wars, divided by religion, politics and economy, and soon devastated by two calamities – the plague, in 1665 (70,000 people killed), and the Great Fire of London,

in 1666 (13,200 houses destroyed). Backscheider (1989, p. 6) observes that the days of “panic and devastation must have made a strong impression” on the third child of James, a tallow chandler, and Alice Foe. The family was already living their own disaster, as Nonconformists, Protestant Dissenters who refused the membership in the Church of England, becoming a persecuted and despised minority, after having ruled the country while England was under Cromwell.

Backscheider (*op. cit.*) points out that when 1,800 English clergymen were ejected from their churches by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662, Samuel Annesley, the Foe family’s pastor, chose to join the Dissenters, and Daniel’s family left St. Giles, Cripplegate, Church with him. “By doing so they lost their right to worship openly and gave up their sons’ chance for a university education and a civil or military career.” (p.7) During the first twenty years of life, Defoe would witness a time of moral corruption and religious persecution in his homeland. Some 15,000 families were ruined, 5,000 died in prison, and 60,000 may have suffered for the dissention. Scholars ascribe to those times of change in social status the ideal of conduct Defoe would praise in his writings, especially *Robinson Crusoe*. In *Serious Reflections* (1720), he says that, “Here is invincible patience recommended under the worst of misery, indefatigable application and undaunted resolution under the greatest and most discouraging circumstances.”[11]

Earle (1977) states that it is possible to base a study of English society in the early 18th century almost entirely on the writings of Defoe. According to the historian, his work varies in length from pamphlets of a few pages to the 900-plus pages of the *Complete English Tradesman* (1727) or the 5,610 pages of *The Review*, one of the first English newspapers[12], which he wrote single-handed, amounting to nine years of journalism (1704-1713). As stated by Severin (2002),

Defoe used to write astonishingly fast; the historian estimates that Defoe wrote *Robinson Crusoe* in less than six months. Novak (2001), who remarks that Defoe could compose one pamphlet a day, refers to a remembrance of his published in *The Review*: during the reign of Charles II: his family had been so alarmed at the possibility of being forced to return to the Catholic Church, having their Bibles confiscated, that they decided to copy them out in shorthand. Defoe, then only a boy, had written out the whole Pentateuch.

Reading and memorizing portions of the Bible, according to Novak (*op. cit.*), would have constituted a major part of Defoe's house education. As to formal education, what is known is that he had classes at the Reverend James Fisher's school at Dorking, Surrey, and then attended the academy for Dissenters of the Reverend Charles Morton at Newington Green, where he received one of the most advanced educations available in England at that time (SHINAGEL, 1994). The knowledge that allowed him to write on nearly every issue of his time was acquired through readings, trips (he traveled out of London on a variety of occasions and spoke five foreign languages), and mainly working hard, defending himself from vicissitudes (bankruptcy, prison and pillorying), and surviving the attacks of his political and religious enemies. To them, according to Byrd (1976), he was an author who wrote for bread, a mercenary, a prostitute of the pen.

In 1684 Defoe married to Mary Tuffley, with whom he would have eight children. Settled as a merchant in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange, the center of commerce, the young Daniel, eager to make his fortune as an importer of wines and tobacco, and selling stockings, had his first misfortune in 1692. Bankruptcy, in 17th century, as Novak (2001) puts it, was a merchant's great sin and a crime. As a result of mistaken investments – a project of a diving-engine to search for treasures and a civet cat farm

for making perfume from the urine of the animals –, Defoe's business failed and he owed £17,000 to 140 creditors, who sent him to prison. His thoughts on bankruptcy were expressed later in near 100 pages of *The Complete English Tradesman* (2nd volume in 1727), while the difficulties of deciding on whether a scheme is completely mad or a stroke of genius were exposed to the readers in his *Essay upon Projects* (1697), a farsighted sociological treatise aimed at producing a more rational, just and economically productive society, which called the attention of influential men.

The decade of 1690 was an extraordinary period in England. As Abrams *et al.* (1999) put it, the Glorious Revolution (1688), that took the crown from James II and made William king not by inheritance but by choice[3], affirming the Parliament more powerful than the monarch, exposed the new way of looking at the world, the revolution in thought that would make Britain a leading European power in the beginning of 18th century. As a result of the wars, which damaged agriculture, Britain had been exporting cereals to the other European countries. Trade within Britain had increased as well, favored by the waterways, which allowed shipping of goods from region to region. The development of trade had brought wealth and there was a new class of rich "aristocrats", not all belonging to the nobility - by the end of the 16th century, money could buy a high position in British society. In what he claimed to be his first published poem, *A New Discovery of an Old Intreague* (1692), Defoe evoked the new Dissenting idea of gentility as virtue rather than birth.

> In Ancient Times when Men of Worth were known,
> Not by their Father's Actions, but their own,
> When Honours Sacred Pile could be come at,
> But by the Steps to Vertue dedicate;
> No purchas'd Fame our Panegyricks sung,
> Nor were our widowed Harps on Willows hung. Renown by downright hazard was attain'd,
> And Deeds of Honour only Honour gain'd[13]

Earle (1977) stresses that becoming a gentleman or at least rising in the social scale was an aim for Defoe – although he never made it. In *The Poor Man's Plea* (1968), the speaker reminds the readers that wealth and gentility make no difference in the eyes of God, and in his most powerful statement about English prejudice, *The True-Born Englishman* (1701), a poetic defense of King Williams, which outsold any previously published poem in the language, according to Shinagel (1994), Defoe stated that the blood that flowed through the English nobility was the same as that which flowed through the tradesman. Novak (2001) points out that although he wrote only one full-length book – *An Essay upon Projects* - during the thirteen-year reign of William III, this was the period when Defoe "emerged as a powerful writer on politics and society" (p.102) in both prose and verse. Poems, at that time, were not evaluated as art, but rather as a mode of discourse and argument, and Defoe's career as a poet, according to Backscheider (1989), was longer and more prolific than as a novelist.

After recovering from bankruptcy, as he still had some land in Essex, Defoe established there a factory of bricks, which were in demand for the ongoing rebuilding and expansion of London. He tried innovative ways of mixing the water in the clay, and was a pioneer in manufacturing tiles. Furthermore, he was employed as manager-trustee of the royal lottery and as accountant of a government department. He did extremely well financially, and biographers suspect that he was close to the King, advising him on his public utterances, writing speeches and orchestrating the propaganda for the monarchy, by publishing unsigned pamphlets (Novak, 2001). Whether he was one of William's pamphleteers or not, the fact is that "the nature of Defoe's work associated him firmly with the court Whigs and labeled him a party writer'", as Backscheider remarks (1989, p.72).

The quality of his writings, which advocated better conditions for the underprivileged – the lunatic, the female and the poor – and his contacts, especially of Nonconformist publishers, allowed the author to earn some money from the pamphlets, since the reading public was growing in England. This success, however, did not prevent Defoe from being a marked man, as Earle (1977) asserts, when William died, in 1702, and the Tories came back to the power with Queen Anne. Defoe "stuck his head into the noose", says Earle (*op. cit.*, p. 13), with the publication of *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, an attack on the Tories' persecution of the Dissenters. Ironically, he advised the Church and the Queen to get rid of the Protestants by banishing those found at conventicles and hanging the preachers.

Both groups – Tories and Dissenters – took it seriously and attacked Defoe. In July 1703, the Secretary of State, the Tory Earl of Nottingham, issued a warrant for his arrest. After a long period hiding from the law, he was arrested, charged with seditious libel, committed to Newgate, tried, convicted, and sentenced to stand three times in the pillory (SHINAGEL, 1994). While in prison, he wrote *Hymn to the Pillory*, a poem on the inability of such a punishment to injure an honest man. When he was exposed, the crowd, who used to throw rotten fruits, eggs, stones and dirty clods at the criminal, threw flowers at him and bought copies of his poem, published by some friends, hailing Defoe as a popular hero (EARLE, 1977). Nevertheless, Defoe had also a heavy fine to pay and was sentenced to stay in Newgate prison until he could assure to have "good behaviour for the space of seven years". The failure of his factory while he was in prison precipitated another bankruptcy.

Although his sentence involved not writing for seven years, Defoe continued, in Newgate, to write his pamphlets with pleas for toleration, and assertions that he would continue to defend his principles in print, advising reconciliation between the

Dissenters and the Church of England (NOVAK, 2001). Queen Anne was persuaded by the Earl of Oxford, Robert Harley, to take advantage of helping such a talented writer. Defoe was released after three months in prison, and received the official pardon. Earle (1977, p. 14) notes that “Harley’s tactics paid off well”: Defoe remained his loyal until Harley was dismissed in the very last days of Queen Anne’s reign. According to the historian, after the queen’s death, when the Whigs wanted Harley to die, Defoe published an anonymous defense of Harley’s conduct – *The Secret History of the White-Staff*. In his *Appeal to Honour and Justice* (1715), he would write (p. 13): “gratitude and fidelity are inseparable from an honest man”.

The period of Defoe’s association with Harley is the best known of his life, according to biographers, due to the publication of *The Review of the State of the British Nation*, or simply *The Review*, from 1704 to 1713. The newspaper’s main function was to promote Harley’s foreign and domestic policies, but Defoe used it as a forum for discussing every subject and defending his ideas. *The Review* was published twice and latterly three times a week and played a significant role in the birth of the modern press. Despite having introduced the eyewitness report, it was not a newspaper dealing only in facts, but a journal of opinion and discussion - there were ordinary human and society concerns presented along with politics, war, trade, religion, literature, and travel. Watt (1964) stresses that the nature of the journalistic experience furthered Defoe’s later career as a novelist, because in the course of writing his thrice-weekly newspaper, he developed himself as an editorial character, “Mr. Review”, “with a markedly personal manner of writing” (p. 103).

To journalism, adds Watt (*op. cit.*), we can also attribute what “is probably Defoe’s supreme gift – his readability” (p. 104). Indeed, the style that would delight Virginia Woolf, as mentioned in Chapter 2, pleased, as Curtis (1984) states,

members of the Parliament and government ministers as well as the lower and middling ranks of the London middle classes to whom Defoe's writings were addressed. The scholar emphasizes that the "concrete and vigorous language" (p. 9), which would mark later Robinson Crusoe's way of expression, was the ideal for the "complex writer". The contradiction between the simplicity and directness of his writings on one side, and the magnitude of Defoe's canon and the diversity of his interests on the other, is what turns the writer elusive for most of the scholars, according to Curtis. The language Defoe advocated as a medium for communication was defined in his *The Complete English Tradesman* (1725).[14]

> If any man was to ask me, what I would suppose to be a perfect style or language, I would answer, that in which a man speaking to five hundred people, of all common and various capacities, idiots and lunatics excepted, should be understood by them all, in the same manner with one another, and in the same sense which the speaker intended to be understood, this would certainly be a most perfect style.

During the early years of his relationship with Harley, Defoe's main duty was to collect political information and to convince people of the wisdom of the Queen's policies. Acting as a spy and a political agent, he outlined a method of promoting Harley's popularity all over the country, establishing an intelligence service (EARLE, 1977). Backscheider (1989) registers that in 1704 and 1705 Defoe traveled in the southeast and in the north of London, taking notes of opinions, reporting objections and reservations about the ministry's actions, identifying influential men and faction leaders, and making contacts with merchants, booksellers and other people who could be used as a distribution network for pamphlets in the government interest. Such journeys, as Earle (*op. cit.*) puts it, helped the writer to structure his knowledge

of his own country and to observe the changes that had occurred since his first travels in the 1680s.

All the time Defoe was traveling – on horseback – and meeting Harley's agents or lecturing in coffeehouses, he was issuing *The Review*, as well as pamphlets, poetry and full-length books. Backscheider (1989) states that his great project, however, was to finish a major poem he had began during William's reign, arguing that absolute monarchy was a specious, outmoded idea. *Jure Divino* (1706) would satirize the divine right of kings in a twelve-book poem in heroic couplets. The folio edition, sold by subscription, would be more than 370 pages long. As Backscheider (*op. cit.*) emphasizes, on nothing else Defoe wrote did he spent so much time – even his longest works, as the 1,200-page *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, were usually written in under a year. In *Jure Divino*, he would spend five, but it would be the literary work that established his reputation as a poet.

Novak (2001) stresses that from the very beginning of the conversations with Harley, Defoe never considered that the Tory minister was asking him "to sell his soul as well as his pen" (p. 212), but indeed he "established himself as an indispensable figure in the machinery of government propaganda" (p. 217), becoming a public spokesman for certain political and economic issues. Thanks to his essays and his action in Edinburgh, the treaty of Union was signed between England and Scotland, in 1707. In a letter to Harley, on 4 January, according to Novak (*op. cit.*, p. 289), Defoe would have written: "In this Little scheme of their Affaires I have Acted a *True spy* to you"[15]. Working for Harley and for profit, he became a successful writer, could pay his creditors and acquired sufficient cash to buy an expensive lease on a large property in Stoke Newington, a northern suburb of London, where he lived the rest of his life with his family. As a journalist, with large acquaintance among printers and publishers,

Defoe would be associated with more than two dozen periodicals (SHINAGEL, 1994), as *The Master Mercury* (1704), *The Mercator* (1713-14), *The Monitor* (1714), *The Manufacturer* (1719-21), *The Commentator* (1720) and *The Director* (1720-1).

Backscheider (1989) notes that Defoe's conception of himself was that of a man devoted to opening the eyes of others to truth. In his first publication after George I was crowned (Anne had died in 1714), *Advice to the People of Great Britain*, he urged people to "cease that foolish strife, forget the wrongs done to one another"[16], in order to enjoy the new reign in harmony. According to the biographer, however, Defoe's reputation as "unprincipled writer-for-hire" (p. 349) had never been worse than at that time, and he had a still more serious problem: he was again under indictment for seditious libel. Deprived of his income from Harley, according to Earle (1977), he accepted a proposal by Lord Townsend, Whig Secretary of State, and from 1715 to the mid-1720s, he worked disguised in the Tory press, with the task of censoring the articles. His partnership with Nathaniel Mist, for instance, turned the *Saturday Post* the most popular paper in England, selling 10,000 copies a week.

Porter (1991) states that, in the early 18th century, people believed that, of all media, newspapers shaped opinion the most. Nevertheless, the exceptionally favorable situation of writers during the reign of Anne, due to the development of the political propaganda in literature and journalism, as Hauser (1998) posits, was over when Robert Walpole became Prime Minister. There was no political patronage anymore, and that made writers depend on a private patron or an editor. Backscheider (1989) remarks that sometimes editors were booksellers who purchased manuscripts from authors, published them, sold them, and exchanged copies with other booksellers. Defoe did not find an editor interested in his *Robinson Crusoe* and had to sell the manuscript for only 10 pounds[17] (HAUSER, 1998). As the scholar stresses, at

that moment the literary product became a commodity, whose value was fixed by the free market, and writers had to make their profits by selling books.

In his attempts to earn a living by literary projects, Defoe published, in 1715, the first of his three volumes of *The Family Instructor* (the others would appear in 1718 and 1727), a popular conduct manual. Backscheider (1989) presume it was written partly as a guide for his own children, based on his personal experiences. Novak (2001) assures it was not merely a guide for Dissenters who decided to educate their children at home, but mainly a response to the punitive, repressive legislation under the Schism Act[18]. Nevertheless, what the biographer emphasizes (p. 483) is the fact that there were already fictions, “with plots and well-developed characters”, in this work which could be considered the forerunner of the novel. Defoe himself remarked that “the method is new” and called his didactic work a “dramatic poem”, while his enemies mocked the use of dialogue as “a play” in the narrative. The author states that the success of the book - the first two volumes went into dozens of editions - would be a result of the new fictional form, the dialogic method.

Backscheider (1989) ascribes this new kind of work to the necessity Defoe felt of new voices “to open the eyes” of people. The biographers agree that the first novel, *Robinson Crusoe*, published in April 1719, was a work that drew upon all of his talents, knowledge, experience and emotions. Actually, as it was mentioned in the beginning of this section, almost a sexagenarian, Defoe was living his maturity as man, journalist and writer, when he published his first novel. As he knew how to instigate the readers’ response, the popularity of the book was immediate, and soon it was as pirated as attacked (*see* Chapters 1.1 and 2). In the same year Defoe published *Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,* and the next year, *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, gathering

a series of essays. Novak (2001) points out that prose fiction was not yet a respectable genre then, but Defoe was seen by booksellers and printers as the leading figure in the rise of a publishing industry “interested in making money off books and eager to appeal to as wide an audience as possible” (p. 566).

While keeping involved with pamphlets and newspapers, Defoe continued to write novels: still in 1720, *The King of Pirates*, a kind of draft of *The Life, Adventures, and Pyracies of the Famous Captain Singleton*, published six months later, almost at the same time as *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, a subtle warning about the miseries of civil war. The relationship between Defoe’s journalistic subjects and his 1720s publications is very close. Many of the reports suggest ideas and characters for his novels, as the criminals who appear in *Moll Flanders*, *Colonel Jack* (1722), and *Roxana* (1724), according to Backscheider (1989). The biographer states that Defoe wrote to be useful, and exposition was his most natural voice. By exposing crime, he intended to contribute to reduce robberies on the streets of London. *Colonel Jack* required three editions by 1724; *Moll Flanders* also had three and was serialized in the *London Post*. In 1728, Defoe would subtitle *Augusta Triumphans* “The Way to Make London the Most Flourishing City in the Universe”.

The biographer also remarks that, before *Roxana*, there had been optimism in all Defoe wrote – the novels have comic touches and happy endings, characters with energy and resilience. Even *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722) ends with a vision of the City growing greater. That might have happened in London, and indeed it happened in England, which, during Defoe’s lifetime, “rose from its ashes to become an empire”, as Abrams *et al.* remark (1999, p. 1767). Yet the same cannot be said of Defoe’s life, in constant political and economic struggle. In 1725, at the age of 65, he had even to face a surgery (anesthetics did not exist) to remove bladder stones that

had troubled him for years. That “middle sized spare man” – as the warrant issued for his arrest in 1703 described him[19] -, “of a brown complexion, and dark-brown coloured hair, but wears a wig, a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a mole near his mouth”, had always ferociously fought to overcome every new crisis that emerged in his life.

Clothes had their own language, in the 18th century (PORTER, 1991), and Daniel Defoe, as all men of a certain position until 1770, would not be seen without a wig. When he died, at the age of 71, on 24 April, of “a lethargy” (a stroke), as the newspapers reported, in an unusual notice, he was finally styled “Gentleman”, in the records in the General Registry of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where his birth, because his family had become a Dissenter, could not have been registered. Backscheider (1989, p. 527) remarks that he would have been pleased to know that his obituaries called him “the famous Mr. Daniel De Foe” and “a Person well known for his numerous and various Writings”. To his contemporaries, “Mr.” and “Gentleman” told that he was a person with some power, an “active agent in the record we call historical”, and that he did not work with his hands. Two days after his death, on 26 April 1731, Defoe was buried in Bunhill Fields, the great Dissenting cemetery, that holds other famous people as John Bunyan, George Fox, and the Cromwell family. His coffin bore a metal plate with the engraving of the sole word “Foe”. Would that remind us of “foe”, the opponent, the adversary, the antagonist? Or “foe”, the unit of energy released by stellar explosions, such as supernovae, that become extremely luminous in the process[20]?

2 THREE CENTURIES OF COMMENTS AND STUDIES

> *I learned this, at least, by my experiment: that if one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours. He will put some things behind, will pass an invisible boundary; new, universal, and more liberal laws will begin to establish themselves around and within him; or the old laws be expanded, and interpreted in his favor in a more liberal sense, and he will live with the license of a higher order of beings. In proportion as he simplifies his life, the laws of the universe will appear less complex, and solitude will not be solitude, nor poverty poverty, nor weakness weakness. If you have built castles in the air, your work need not be lost; that is where they should be. Now put the foundations under them.*
>
> Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (1854)

If the interest of the reading public in *Robinson Crusoe* has not decreased, from 1719 to present days – it may be found in bookshelves all over the world, and editors say it has never been out of print -, critical evaluation of the work throughout these three centuries allows an estimation of the success and influence of Defoe's novel. The evaluations differ, as Shinagel (1994)[1] puts it, but demonstrate that the reputation of Defoe's text remains high even with the changes in taste and society along the last three centuries. Shinagel also remarks that in the 1960s Defoe has become the subject of serious scholarly study, and numerous books and articles on him have been published. Actually, twentieth-century criticism on *Robinson Crusoe* has broadened the significance of the work, according to Ellis (1969). The scholar emphasizes: *Robinson Crusoe* has been discovered to be a book for adults – even for adults in the 20th century, Crusoe has been discovered to be a character created by Defoe, not Defoe himself, and

God has been discovered to be a character almost as important as He is in Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

2.1 Envy and admiration: the 18th Century

Criticism on *Robinson Crusoe* began as soon as the market required successive editions of the novel. Because its popularity and originality had no parameters for evaluation – prose fiction itself was not a serious literary genre – envy must have provoked the attack of some writers. In September 1719, Charles Gildon (1665-1721), a minor playwright and political pamphleteer, published a pamphlet as a parody of Defoe's work – *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Mr.D____ De F__* - in which he condemns *Robinson Crusoe* as the product of religious Dissent, and compares the protagonist to the heroes of the popular chapbooks for British children. In the form of a play, with a preface and a scene in which the fictional characters Crusoe and Friday want to kill the author for making both "such Scoundrels", Gildon (1994) charges Defoe for raising "Beings contradictory to common Sense, and destructive of Religion and Morality" (p. 259).

In 1742, English poet Alexander Pope (1688-1744) wrote a comment of some lines praising Defoe's writings. According to Pope (1994), "The first part of *Robinson Crusoe* is very good. De Foe wrote a vast many things; and none bad, though none excellent, except this. There is something good in all he has written" (p. 261). English actor and playwright Theophilus Cibber (1703-1758) was more enthusiastic in *The Lives of the Poets* (1753). On *The Success of Robinson Crusoe*, Cibber (1994) states, "His imagination was fertile, strong, and lively, as may be collected from his many works of fancy, particularly his Robinson Crusoe, which was written in so natural a

manner". Cibber witnesses that "it was indeed written upon a model entirely new, and the success and esteem it met with, may be ascertained by the many editions it has sold, and the sums of money which have been gained by it" (pp. 261-2).

Swiss-French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) discussed the work seriously, though his appraisal, incidentally, contributed to the idea that *Robinson Crusoe* was a book for children. In *Emilius and Sophia: or, A New System of Education,* written in 1762, Rousseau (1994) states that he hates books, which "only teach people to talk about what they don't understand", and announces there is only one book which affords "a complete treatise on natural education" (p. 262). *Robinson Crusoe*, according to Rousseau, should be the first to be read by Emilius. Defoe's book would serve as the guide to Rousseau's imaginary pupil during the progress to a state of reason, as he remarks. The philosopher thought the best method for a child to raise him/herself above prejudices and form his/her judgments was to act like the solitary adventurer, evaluating everything by its real utility. The "romance", as Rousseau says, affords "at once both instruction and amusement" (p. 263).

The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe continued to delight people alongside the 18th century, and more critics expressed their conviction that the book was not just entertainment, but could serve as a source to education. English author Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) observes, in *In Praise of Defoe and Robinson Crusoe*, the merit of "a man, who, bred a tradesman, had written so variously and so well". According to Johnson (1994, p. 264), "indeed, his *Robinson Crusoe* is enough to establish his reputation". Scottish Presbyterian preacher and man of letters Hugh Blair (1718-1800) says in *Lectures on Rethoric and Belles Letres* (1783) that "no fiction, in any language, was ever better supported than the Adventures of Robinson Crusoe". In the opinion of Blair (1994, p. 264), "with the

appearance of truth and simplicity, which takes a strong hold of the imagination of all Readers, it suggests, at the same time, very useful instruction".

Scottish writer James Beattie (1735-1803) agrees with Rousseau, that it is "one of the best books that can be put in the hands of children", saying that the work can be read "not only with pleasure, but also with profit". In *The Morality of Robinson Crusoe* (1783), Beattie (1994, p. 263) remarks it was said that "a lovetale" was "necessary to make a romance interesting", but *Robinson Crusoe*, "though there is nothing of love in it, is one of the most interesting narratives that ever was written", "founded on passion still more prevalent than love, the desire of self-preservation". If it is inquired "by what charm it is that these *Surprising Adventures* should have instantly pleased, (…), it will be found, that few books have ever so naturally mingled amusement with instruction", comments Scottish political writer George Chalmers (1742-1825) in *The Popularity of Robinson Crusoe* (1790). And he adds: "the young are instructed, while the old are amused" (CHALMERS, 1994, p.265).

2.2 Applause of great writers: the 19th Century

As time went by, already as detached observers, Defoe's peers in the 19th century were allowed more consistent evaluations of *Robinson Crusoe*, which they could identify as representative of the current economic and social order. Scottish publisher John Ballantyne (1774-1821) did not find, in 1810, another "work of instruction or entertainment" in the English language "more generally read, and more universally admired" than *Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. According to Ballantyne (1994, p. 266), persons of all classes and denominations are "fascinated", and the society is "indebted to the memory of De Foe for his production of a work in

which (…) a lasting and useful moral is conveyed through the channel of an interesting and delightful story". The publisher also witnesses that "the rage for imitating a work so popular" (p. 267) seems to have risen "to a degree of frenzy": within forty years, "no less than forty-one different *Robinsons* appeared, besides fifteen other imitations" with different titles.

English poet and critic Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) annotated in the 1812 edition of *Robinson Crusoe* he possessed, "You become a man while you read". In his explanation, "he who makes me forget my *specific* class, character, and circumstances, raises me into the universal man. Now this is De Foe's excellence". The annotations on *Crusoe as a Representative of Humanity* were included in his *Literary Remains* (1830). Coleridge (1994, p. 268) says Crusoe is "merely a representative of humanity in general; neither his intellectual nor his moral qualities set him above the middle degree of mankind". The poet adds that many delightful pages and incidents "might have enriched the book; but then Crusoe would cease to be the universal representative, the person for whom every reader could substitute himself". According to Coleridge, nothing is done, thought, suffered, or desired in the story that every man could not imagine himself doing, thinking, feeling or wishing for.

"In the appearances of truth, in all the incidents and conversations that occur in them, they exceed any works of fiction that I am acquainted with", says English essayist Charles Lamb (1775-1834) on Defoe's novel in a comment written in 1822. Lamb (1994, p. 269) ascribes the capacity of making the reader believe in everything that was said in the work to the repetition of the facts by the narrator: "when he has told us a matter of fact, or a motive, in a line or two farther down he repeats it, with his favorite figure of speech, *I say*, so and so, though he had made it abundantly plain before". The stratagem, according to Lamb, is "the imitation of the common

people's way of speaking", and has "a wonderful effect upon matter-of-fact readers". Commenting on Defoe's readers, Charles Lamb states that *Robinson Crusoe* is "delightful to all ranks and classes", but was written to the lower ones. "His novels are capital kitchen-reading, while they are worthy (…) to find a shelf in the libraries of the wealthiest and the most learned".

In a "memoir" published in 1840, English essayist William Hazlitt (1778-1830) commentates on the effect of *Robinson Crusoe*, comparing it to the Holy Scriptures. He says, "this delightful romance has ever since it was written excited the first and most powerful influence upon the juvenile mind of England" (HAZLITT, 1994, p. 271). Some years later, in 1851, English writer and traveler George Borrow (1803-1881) admitted he felt "emotions strange and novel" produced by Defoe's work. In his opinion, it is "a book which has exerted over the minds of Englishmen an influence certainly greater than any other of modern times" (BORROW, 1994, p. 272). English writer Thomas de Quincey (1785-1859) identifies the impact on the readers is due to the fact that Defoe had "so plausibly circumstantiated his false historical records, as to make them pass for genuine, even with literary men and critics". De Quincey (1994, p. 272) remarks that Defoe's tales have a double character: they are "so amusing, that girls read them for novels", and they have "such an air of verisimilitude, that men read them for histories".

The "potent magic of verisimilitude" is also emphasized by American writer, poet and critic Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849) in *Defoe's Faculty of Identification,* first appeared in 1836. Poe (1994, p. 270) asserts that *Robinson Crusoe* gave Defoe immortality, though "not one person in five hundred" has "the most remote conception that any particle of genius, or even the common talent" was employed in its creation. "Men do not look upon it in the light of a literary performance. Defoe has none of their

thoughts – Robinson all". According to Poe, the wonder threw into obscurity the powers which had wrought it, and that was possible because "the author of 'Crusoe' must have possessed, above all other faculties, (…) the faculty of identification (…), which enables the mind to lose its own in a fictitious individuality" (p. 271). Poe's conclusion is that Defoe became "largely indebted to his subject".

"He had undoubtedly a knack at making fiction look like truth", admits English historian Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) in a 1858 commentary on *Robinson Crusoe*'s author, in which he ponders that, "as a political writer, De Foe is merely one of the crowd" (MACAULAY, 1994, p. 273). Verisimilitude was the main issue, but also the emotional impact the work had on the reader was a concern in critical evaluations of the 19th century. According to British novelist Charles Dickens (1812-1870), *Robinson Crusoe*, though universally popular, cannot make anyone laugh or cry: "there is not in literature a more surprising instance of an utter want of tenderness and sentiment, than the death of Friday" (DICKENS, 1994, p. 274). In a considerably deeper analysis of the work, British critic Leslie Stephen (1832-1904) agrees that because of "the want of power in describing emotion as compared with the amazing power of describing facts, *Robinson Crusoe* is a book for boys rather than men, and, as Lamb says, for the kitchen rather than for higher circles".

Nevertheless, Stephen (1994, p. 278) assures that "the difference between the fiction and what we believe would have been the reality is significant", arguing that "De Foe really describes a man in prison, not in solitary confinement" on an island. Stephen sustaines that it is this autobiographical element that makes "a man speak from greater depths of feeling than in a purely imaginary story". In "his first discovery of a new art", Defoe presented "the shrewd vigorous character of the Englishmen thrown upon his own resources with evident enjoyment of his task", in an "unflinching

realism", as Stephen stresses, and the facts told the story themselves, without any demand for romantic power. The critic concludes that after all, "to have pleased all the boys in Europe for near a hundred and fifty years is a remarkable feat" (p. 279). British philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) testifies: indeed, among children's books, "*Robinson Crusoe* was preeminent, and continued to delight me through all my boyhood" (1994, p. 277).

German social philosopher Karl Marx (1818-1883) used the tale of Daniel Defoe to explore his assumptions of political economy. In *Capital* (1867), Volume One, Part One, on commodities, he focuses on Crusoe as an exemplar of the pre-capitalist man producing goods only as much as it is useful to him and not seeking some profit. Marx ([2005], Section 4) points out that Crusoe "commences, like a true-born Briton, to keep a set of books", with a list of the objects of utility, the operations necessary for their productions and labor time "that definite quantities of those objects have, on an average, cost him". Such relations between Robinson Crusoe and the objects contain "all that is essential to the determination of value", according to the thinker. Marx mentions three other forms of production: feudalism, based on dependent cooperation; the peasant family, involving common or directly associated labor, and a community of free individuals who produce goods together (his ideal). "All the characteristics of Robinson's labor are here repeated, but with this difference, that they are social, instead of individual".

2.3 Studies and interpretations: the 20th century

Twentieth-century criticism composes a completely different picture of *Robinson Crusoe*. Verisimilitude and emotion were not concerns any longer in the beginning of

the century, when a close reading of the work, despite contextual elements – historical, moral, philosophical information –, allowed to evaluate how literature could become a way for the British reading public to recover from the damages of the industrial society and mass culture (EAGLETON, 2003). While the study of literature was being deepened, critics became professionals, following theories developed through different approaches. This new kind of literary analysis, made by scholars, based on researches and studies, disclosed a number of reasons why *Robinson Crusoe* achieved so much success. Criticism made by writers has not been predominant, but the impressionist comments of British author Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), in the early 1930s, were an eloquent proclamation of Defoe's immortality.

By the time of the bicentenary of *Robinson Crusoe*, Woolf (1976) declared herself marveled that the book "should have been in existence so short a time as that" (p. 15), since it resembled "one of the anonymous productions of the race rather than the effort of a single mind". In Wolf's opinion (1994, p. 285), *Robinson Crusoe* is a masterpiece largely because Defoe has "throughout kept consistently to his own sense of perspective". The suggestion of peril, solitude, and a desert island rouses in us the expectation "of some far land on the limits of the world; of the sun rising and the sun setting; of man, isolated from his kind, brooding alone upon the nature of society and the strange ways of men", but there are no sunsets and sunrises, there are "no solitude and no soul". According to Woolf, there is "but a large earthenware pot". She emphasizes that "reality, fact, substance" dominates all that followed – nothing could be plainer, more matter of fact. Yet, the genius of Defoe achieves effects that are beyond the great masters of descriptive prose: "He has only to say a word or two about 'the grey of the morning' to paint vividly a windy dawn" (*ibid.*, p. 287).

In the beginning of the 20th century, Irish writer James Joyce (1882-1941) greeted Defoe's novels as artistic expression of "an instinct and a prophecy", found "beneath the rude exterior of his characters" (1994, p. 322). In a lecture on Daniel Defoe delivered in Italy, in 1912, Joyce said, "English feminism and English imperialism already lurk in these souls which are just emerging from the animal kingdom". According to the writer, *Robinson Crusoe* reveals, "as perhaps no other book throughout the long history of English literature", "the wary and heroic instinct of the rational animal and the prophecy of the empire" (p. 323). In Joyce's opinion, the true symbol of the British conquest is Robinson Crusoe – the true prototype of the British colonist, as Friday is the symbol of the subject races. Finally, the author compares Crusoe to Saint John the Evangelist, who saw the apocalyptic ruin of the universe and the building of the eternal city. Crusoe saw only "the print of a naked foot in the virgin sand": "who knows if the latter is not more significant than the former?" asks Joyce.

2.3.1 *Homo economicus* in the 1950s

In the early 1950s, British literary critic Ian Watt (1917-1999) inscribed *Robinson Crusoe* among modern myths of Western culture, as *Faust*, *Don Juan*, and *Don Quixote*: "his author's name has been forgotten, while he himself has acquired a kind of semi-historical status" (1994, p. 288). In two books and some critical essays,[2] The critic reminds us that it is not an author "but a society that metamorphoses a story into a myth, by retaining only what its unconscious needs dictate and forgetting everything else". According to Watt, Crusoe lives "in the imagination mainly as a triumph of human achievement and enterprise, and as a favorite example of the

elementary processes of political economy". The critic analyzes the relationship of the fictional story to some traits of social and economic history, and states that *Robinson Crusoe* seems to have become "a kind of culture hero" representing three ideas: "Back to Nature", "The Dignity of Labour", and "Economic Man" (p. 289).

Watt (1994) remarks that Rousseau was the first commentator to see in Defoe's work "something which far transcended the status of a mere adventure story" (p. 290). Primitivism and radical individualism, the patterns to be followed in children education pointed out by the philosopher, however, are not the target of *Robinson Crusoe*: "Defoe's 'nature' appeals not for adoration but for exploitation" (p. 291). In Watt's opinion, Crusoe observes nature "with the calculating gaze of a colonial capitalist" (p. 292). The critic also asserts that the "division of labor", a term that soon later would be coined by Adam Smith, was a process far advanced in England, and because of that was "an important condition of the creation and immediate success" of *Robinson Crusoe*. Defoe's interest in labor, according to Watt, was part of the ideology of a new historical process: the dignity of labor was "the central creed of the religion of capitalism", and for Protestantism, hard work "was a paramount ethical obligation" (p. 295).

Watt (*op. cit.,* p. 296) ponders that the spiritual value of work and the return to nature are two ideas of the bourgeois class, with whom Defoe's hero is identified, in the "epic of individual enterprise". The critic calls Defoe "the complacent apologist of nascent industrial capitalism", and assures that even the arrival of Friday is "a signal, not for increased leisure, but for expanded production", adding that the program of action is "Empire". Island of Despair is actually a utopia, "though of a new and peculiar kind" (p. 299), and Crusoe mirrors "that lonely and unlovely archetype of our civilization, *homo economicus*" (p. 300). The economic man is, according to Watt, the

“ultimate referent” of Defoe’s masterpiece, and “the main historical basis of this metaphor of human solitude which has haunted the Western consciousness” (1994, p. 304). Watt believes that the need to obscure the negative social and psychological consequences of the rise of economic individualism determines a refusal to see “the darker side of Defoe’s hero”.

Still in the early 1950s critic Benjamin Boyce suggested that the attention to Defoe’s realistic method had caused critics to ignore another source of his power – his representation of anxiety. Boyce remarks that there are almost total lack of “the passionate element” and of “excitement in sex” in *Robinson Crusoe* (1976, p. 41); there are no manifested feelings for his household pets, and emotions as to the aesthetic aspects of his surroundings, on the island, only “the horrors are unmistakably present”. According to Boyce, “the often submerged but never quite forgotten anxiety” (p. 44) sets the emotional background that renders the narrative so powerful. Psychoanalyst Eric Berne also points out Crusoe’s anxieties, “based on the principle: ‘He who eats shall be eaten’” (1969, p. 96). In Freudian terms, according to Berne, after Crusoe had explored and exploited his island, he felt guilty and thought the devil should come after him. Because of his oral fixation – he was afraid of starving, being eaten or being poisoned – and the intense anxiety, Crusoe “never did explore the whole extent of his island effectively” (p. 97), says Berne.

Robinson Crusoe is “far more than the account of a practical man’s adjustment to life on a deserted island”, states Edwin B. Benjamin (1969, p. 35). The critic asserts that “side by side with Crusoe’s physical conquest of nature is his struggle to conquer himself and to find God”. In Benjamin’s opinion, Defoe’s novel is indeed a “conversion story, like that of Augustine”, presented in the old allegorical form – life is a voyage. The religious motif is also identified by Roger Lloyd, for whom *Robinson*

Crusoe is “the best account in the language of the tortured state of mind to which the evangelical assurance is the only answer” (1969, p. 92). The critic states that Defoe knew that he real dilemma of the soul is remorse and sense of guilt, and placed “his moving discourse on spiritual despair and deliverance in such a setting” to make it sure that “ninety-nine readers out of every hundred would pass by, without noticing that it was there” (p. 93). “Truth can be approached imaginatively as well as experimentally”, notes Lloyd.

E. M. W. Tillyard remarks that alone on the island, Crusoe had no wild beasts to contend with, thus “the arena was cleared for the struggle with himself”. The critic says that, in spite of its former great popularity, he doubted “if *Robinson Crusoe* was usually read aright” (1969, p. 62). Tillyard identifies several possible readings of the novel, which touched great “depths of the mind”: this could be a version of the story of the Prodigal son; the progression from the practical life to the life of contemplation, or an allegory of Crusoe as Everyman, saved from Original Sin. Defoe’s biographer John Robert Moore emphasizes that imagination was what counted mostly in *Robinson Crusoe*. The scholar (1969, p. 60) says that Coleridge was right in stressing “the desert island feeling”, the cry of the *Ancient Mariner*[3]*,* anticipated by Defoe: “Alone, alone, all, all alone,/ Alone on a wide, wide sea!”

2.3.2 The religious tradition in the 1960s

The following decade brought a religious concern as a way of contesting the predominance of the economic objective in Defoe’s novel. Considering Crusoe’s conversion, George A Starr (1976) asserts that the original sin – his running off to sea, in defiance of his father, society and Providence – was not the only cause of his

vicissitudes, but it did "initiate a pattern of wrongdoing" with far-reaching consequences (p. 82). As Crusoe repented, he acquired "a missionary zeal" (p. 89) and wanted to evangelize Friday – this, according to Starr, is the most striking aspect of Crusoe's relations with the native. In another comment, the critic (1994) reminds us of Crusoe's despair – which, incidentally, gave name to the island – when he arrived, and assures that it was not the therapy of work that granted him security, but the providence of God. To Starr, "what affords him peace of mind is not his success in the role of *Homo economicus*, but the discovery that he can rely on Providence for direction and support".

J. Paul Hunter (1976) points out the metaphorical feature of *Robinson Crusoe*, in which physical events reflect spiritual states. The critic explains that Crusoe's efforts to settle in his physical environment paralleled his efforts to find a proper relationship with God. "Ultimately, his physical activities become a metaphor for his spiritual aspirations" (p. 92). Hunter remarks that, according to the guide tradition, the general pattern of Crusoe's action is emblematic of larger matters, as "the shipwreck of his soul", and his relief from sickness paralleling "the cure of his soul" (p. 93). The discovery of the terrifying footprint indicates that there are still enemies to be conquered. Hunter stresses that even the language is "carefully calculated to suggest the fusion of physical and spiritual" (p. 94), as when Crusoe says he is "thirsty" and "weak". Hunter ponders that, "an Everyman, Crusoe begins as a wanderer, aimless on a sea he does not understand; he ends as a pilgrim, crossing a final mountain to enter the Promised Land" (p. 103).

In *The Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe*, Maximillian E. Novak suggests that Crusoe's "original sin" is his refusal to follow the "calling" chosen for him by his father, probably because of his personal characteristics: "his lack of economic prudence, his inability to follow a steady profession, his indifference to a

calm bourgeois life, and his love of travel" (1976, p. 60). Novak's view contradicts those interpretations that posit Crusoe in the role of the economic man. Also a biographer, Novak researched all available writings of the eighteen-century writer, and states that Defoe was an opponent of Adam Smith's free trade and *laissez-faire* doctrine: Defoe did not believe that self-interest would benefit society, hence "he urged the government to pass a variety of laws which would control the freedom of economic man" (p. 63). Novak grants that Defoe admired the merchant, but not the man who made excessive profits: "when he created the character of Crusoe, Defoe certainly had more empathy with the concept of the colonist than with that of the capitalist" (p. 64).

2.3.3 Several ideologies, in the 1970s

James Sutherland (1994) also states that profit hardly seems to have been Crusoe's only vocation. Instead, he argues, the reader is presented with a man driven by "a kind of compulsion (…) and a fever in blood (…) to wander footloose about the world". According to the scholar, "as if to leave no doubt about his restless desire to travel", Crusoe contrasts himself with his partner, the very pattern of the economic motive and of what a merchant ought to be, who would have gone on trading on the same route, "like a carrier's horse". Sutherland detects an autobiographical element in *Robinson Crusoe*: "If Defoe had seen a good deal less of the world than Crusoe, he was none the less an inveterate traveler" (p. 356). In Sutherland's opinion, as a novelist, Defoe had "serious limitations", but he had a talent for make-believe, and put himself in someone else's place, "even to the extent of almost losing his own identity in that of a fictitious character" (p. 346).

"As an archetypical personage of the last two hundred and fifty years of European consciousness", as John J. Richetti (1994, p. 359) remarks, Crusoe seems to be "the embodiment of various ideologies": on the one hand, as Marx and Watt posit, he is a representative of capitalism; on the other hand, in the standpoint of Hunter and Starr, a man seeking spiritual definition. According to Richetti, Crusoe is "neither exclusively a masterful economic individual nor a heroically spiritual slave". The scholar asserts, "He inhabits both ideologies in such a way that he manages to be both at once and therefore to reside in neither". As Richetti adds, *Robinson Crusoe* deals in extremes, in a world "where one state is transformed into its opposite", with the change of violent transpositions into gradual adaptations. Crusoe performes a "stabilizing and possessive operation first upon himself, and then upon his island and (…) upon others, that is, upon society" (p. 366).

Daniel H. Peck also points out "a terrible paradox" in *Robinson Crusoe*, although of another sort: the more freedom he acquires, the more deeply implicated he becomes in his errors and is thus "trapped". "By contrast – the scholar remarks -, Crusoe's later confinement on the island could be seen as a 'liberating' experience" (1987, p. 97). Peck analyzes the relation of the geography with the development of the self in the novel, and asserts that Crusoe went to the sea to avoid the "middle life" indicated by his father and later the depression he suffered in Brazil: he 'floated' on the sea as well as on the surfaces of life, without 'placing' himself in a geographic or a moral sense. According to the scholar, "the external bounds formed by the shores of the island have become internalized": while digging into earth and rock to form his habitation, he dug down "into his own soul" (p. 99), and while exploring the territory, "the concept of his 'lordship'" entered his mind (p. 100).

2.3.4 From the 1980s onwards: specific aspects

Criticism in the 1980s presented more specialized studies on Defoe's novel. Mary E. Butler, for instance, examined *The effect of the narrator's rhetorical uncertainty on the fiction of Robinson Crusoe*. According to the scholar, the text of the book is a representation of itself in the process of creation, hence its successfully completed form depends on its own promotion of the illusion that it is incomplete. Butler (1987, p. 185) asserts that the narrator's self-criticism achieves "one obvious fictional effect, that of making the narrator seem real because of his admitted fallibility". In her standpoint, Defoe makes the narrator admit that he or language itself – not the author – is responsible for possible narrative inaccuracies, and these fictitious limitations simulate reality. "In the interest of representing the process of his creativity, Defoe settles for a product that is apparently less than perfect", says Butler, adding, "what appear to be stylistic interruptions are the basis for artistic triumph" (p. 196).

Leopold Damrosch, Jr. states that the affinities of *Robinson Crusoe* with the Puritan tradition are unmistakable, but the novel, in the end, stands "as a remarkable instance of a work that gets away from its author", and gives expression to attitudes that seem to lie far from his conscious intention (1994, p. 174). The scholar explains that Defoe assigns "to dramatize the conversion of the Puritan self" and ends "by celebrating a solitude that exalts autonomy instead of submission". According to Damrosch, Defoe proposes "a naturalistic account of real life in a real world", but creates "an immortal triumph of wish-fulfillment". The scholar remarks that Puritanism was no longer an ideology committed to reshaping the world, but a social class seeking religious toleration and economic advantage, and Defoe was both beneficiary and victim of the new ethic. "Defoe's God may work through nature, but

he does so by 'natural' cause and effect, (…) and nature itself is not viewed as sacramental", says Damrosch (p. 379).

A very intriguing essay was published by John Bender in 1987, associating the form of English prisons in 18th century with early realist fiction. In *The Novel and the Rise of the Penitentiary: Robinson Crusoe*, Bender (1994) reminds us of the identification of the experience of imprisonment with a rite of passage, "the meeting point of the individual mind and material causes". *Robinson Crusoe*, in this standpoint, is an experience of transformation, with "a materially realistic delineation of consciousness shaped through the narration of confinement" (p. 392). Bender also identifies similarities between the formulation of imprisonment in *Robinson Crusoe* and the experience of the city as the seat of power. "Defoe's tale is an archaeology of urban geographical, social, psychological, and legal forms", says the author (p. 396), stressing that the evolution of Crusoe's fortified cave is synonymous with the narration of his story. "Viewed on the large canvas of world time, written narrative rests with prison at the generative axis of the city as the enclosed seat of authority" (p. 398).

Michael McKeon (1994), in his essay *Defoe and The Naturalization of Desire*, says that "an incapacity to limit his desires by sensing the natural and providential limits of his situation is what makes Robinson successively a prodigal son, an unethical trader, and now also an imprudent trader". According to McKeon, the many years on the island overcome the incapacity to rationalize worldly activity by the sanctions of a perceived moral duty. Crusoe, devoid of human society, is obliged to experience the society of God, an experience with two crucial dimensions: as in a state of solitude the greatest impediments to ethical behavior disappear, "what then remains is the otherness of divinity itself, the absolute moral standard now so inescapable that its very voice may be heard and internalized within one's desires".

The scholar points out that Crusoe's conversion depends on a new-found ability "to detect and interpret the signs of God's presence in his life on the island" (p. 408).

Already in the 1990s, Carol Houlihan Flynn (1994) identifies in Defoe's writings an analogy of cannibalism to high consumption, asserting that the author insists that the cost of life might be "so dear that to survive we might find ourselves consuming one another". According to Flynn, Defoe uses the cannibal "to explore the savage 'other' that becomes incorporated into the civilized being, that part that exists 'by necessity' in a consuming society grown complex and interdependent" (p. 423). Flynn asserts that Crusoe 'civilized' his savage to make him part of a system he controlled, but he himself was the most savage as he fed needs increasingly complicated. In her standpoint, Defoe represents an imperialistic society and uses the cannibal "as the emblem of a physical economy that requires an infusion of new blood to revitalize (and subsequently threaten) an ailing body", just as England depended on its colonized bodies to feed the needs resulted from its expansion (p. 424).

J. M. Coetzee, the author of a postmodern parody of *Robinson Crusoe* (*see* Chapter 1.3), in the Introduction of the 1999 Oxford edition of the novel, compares Defoe to the other pioneer novelists and says that the British writer was a realist only in that he was an empiricist, "one of the tenets of the realist novel". According to Coetzee, "Defoe is in fact something simpler: an impersonator, a ventriloquist, even a forger" (p. vii). The first attempt at a long prose fiction, *Robinson Crusoe* is not Defoe's best book, in the opinion of the South African writer. "Nevertheless – Coetzee adds -, the core of *Robinson Crusoe* – Crusoe alone on the island – is Defoe at his best". Coetzee remarks that, "for the first time in the history of fiction – we see a minute, ordered description of how things are done" (p. viii). Though admitting the novel was propaganda for the extension of British Empire, Coetzee

says “nothing he [Defoe] set down on paper is less than intelligent” (p. x). In his opinion, Defoe is “one of the purest writers we have” (p. ix).

2.4 Criticism in rewrites

While critical analyses in general acclaim *Robinson Crusoe*, a much sharper criticism is exerted by Defoe’s twentieth-century peers, by means of *Robinsonades* that are not simple imitations or innocent satires destined to amusement or mockery (*see* Chapter 1.3). Robinson Crusoe, Friday and their island became a rich source, especially for post-modernist and post-colonialist literature, which subvert the totalizing effects of the dominant culture, through temporal and spatial disjunctions and the decentering of structures and identities. The works of Elizabeth Bishop (poetry), Adrian Mitchell (play), Michel Tournier and J. M. Coetzee (novels) point out relevant issues in Defoe’s work, presenting a revision of the colonial and capitalist world of the 18th century. To some of them, as Corkle [2005] remarks, Crusoe may be the mask they assume to consider their own identities.

This must be the case of American poet Elizabeth Bishop (1911-1979), according to Corkle (*op. cit.*), whose poem *Crusoe in England*, from her final collection, *Geography III* (1977), begins with Crusoe's lament that no one has listened to him, thus his chronicle has been misread: “But my poor island's still un-rediscovered, unrenamable. / None of the books has ever got it right.” When introducing Friday's memory, Crusoe remarks that "Accounts of that have everything all wrong." What that "that" refers to is left undisclosed, and Corkle [2005] states that the poem refers to Bishop’s private situation. The poet had had a homosexual relationship with Brazilian Lota de Macedo

Soares, who died in 1967, and she left Brazil, where she had been living for over 15 years, and returned to the United States. “The poem, narrated by a Crusoe bereft of his island, filled with singularities and his beloved Friday, uncannily portrays Bishop's bereavements” (*ibid.,* Part one).

Portrayed by Crusoe or not, Bishop talks of identity and moves toward homosexuality, both issues not openly presented by Defoe, but potentially existent in his narrative, with the consequent focus on loneliness and desire – “Of course I dreamed of food and love”. In the poet’s island, Crusoe does not see Friday as property, but someone he desires and misses, when punished with the segregation:

> Just when I thought I couldn't stand it
> another minute longer, Friday came.
> (Accounts of that have everything all wrong.)
> Friday was nice.
> Friday was nice, and we were friends.
> If only he had been a woman!
> I wanted to propagate my kind,
> and so did he, I think, poor boy.
> He'd pet the baby goats sometimes,
> and race with them, or carry one around.
> --Pretty to watch; he had a pretty body.
>
> And then one day they came and took us off.
> (*op. cit.*)

Gender was not the only issue questioned by the poem. Bishop does not absolve Defoe’s novel of ignoring the domination of colonists, who had decimated native peoples in the colonies by subjecting them to the empire’s culture, or even by bringing with them diseases the so-called “savages” could not resist. The poem ends, ” --And Friday, my dear Friday, died of measles / seventeen years ago come March”. Cultural submission of native people by the European colonizer is presented in a much stronger way by French writer Michel Tournier (1924-), who retold Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* in his novel *Vendredi, ou les limbes du Pacifique* (in the English

translation, *Man Friday – The Other Island*), in 1967, giving the story a philosophical depth. Marooned on an island that he calls *Esperanza* [Hope], instead of *Despair*, as Defoe's one, Tournier's Crusoe lives a different life there.

Friday, a fifteen-year young native man, is "saved" and enslaved by Crusoe, as it happens in Defoe's work. Yet, the "primitive" man reveals to the colonizer that the stuff of life is not related to time or to other restraints determined by rationalism or utilitarianism. Friday, who does not abandon his beliefs and culture, guides Crusoe into the discovery of a new world and a new way of life, completely different from Western patterns, with no linear time, living only the present, freeing himself even from aging. When they are to be rescued, Crusoe feels younger than in his first days on the island, and decides to stay there, while Friday goes away.

Curiously, Friday, though naming Tournier's awarded book, is not the protagonist. The story, told by a third-person narrator, presents the plot through Crusoe's point of view, mainly because it profits from his journal – part of the text in the first person. Another critical work on *Robinson Crusoe*, yet, inverts the voice of narration. *Man Friday* (1973), a theater play by an innovative English poet and playwright, Adrian Mitchell (1932-), retells Defoe's story in a provocative way: Friday tells his tribe how he met Crusoe - three of his fellow natives and he shipwrecked, and one of them died before reaching the shore. "So we built a journey house for him. And we built a fire, so we could cook and eat old Hookloser, so we could all take some of the soul of that man, who we loved, into the future with us" (MITCHELL, 1974, p. 9). Friday refers to the sacred meaning of cannibalism, contesting Defoe's vision of an atrocity perpetrated by savages. In Friday's memories, it is possible to learn that the native questioned all the teachings of Crusoe – "I allowed him to think he was teaching me. And at the same time I tried to teach him " (*ibid.*, p. 15).

When Friday complains of being a slave, Crusoe decides to pay him a coin per day, the meaning of which Friday does not understand. Then Crusoe, who is a liberal, according to the author, tries to teach him how money is used, to purchase things – another incomprehensible concept to Friday. The native presents Crusoe to his tribe as a representative of the white colonialism, for judgement. First performed on television, the play was brought to the stage with the audience playing the tribe.[5] Friday demonstrates to the tribe/audience that Crusoe's mission to civilize the tribe is nothing less than an imperialist rape performed in the name of nationalism and private ownership. “He has no sickness. He is sickness itself. He is a plague. And did you hear what this plague wants to do? He wants to teach our children. This plague wants our children” (p. 43). *Man Friday* was also adapted to the movies in 1975, by Jack Gold, with Peter O’Toole playing Crusoe and Richard Roundtree, Friday.

In J. M. Coetzee’s (1940-) re-imagination of Robinson Crusoe’s story, *Foe* (1986), Friday, the native made servant by the colonialist white man, had his tongue cut out and cannot speak. The South African writer wants what is pointed out by Susan Barton, the female narrator/protagonist, in the third part of the novel: to “open Friday’s mouth and hear what it holds: silence, perhaps, or a roar” (COETZEE, 1987, p. 142). It is possibly Coetzee’s own voice speaking through the character Foe when this latter wants to “make Friday’s silence speak, as well as the silence surrounding Friday”. Giving a woman the task of protagonist and narrator, in a confessional way, like Defoe did with his heroines, Coetzee converts the pleas of another political minority into a voice of authorship. At the same time allowing Coetzee to affirm women’s rights - “(…) for I am a free woman who asserts her freedom by telling her story according to her own desire” (*ibid.,* p. 131) -, Susan Barton is a device for the author criticize the silence imposed upon the native peoples during the times of colonization.

Coetzee absolves the British author from having excluded the woman from his story (*op. cit.*, p. 36): “I do not wish to hear of your desire. It concerns other things, it does not concern the island, it is not a matter of the island”, says Cruso (with no final *e* in *Foe*). Patriarchy is an issue to be challenged by Susan, three centuries later: “He is bitter, I told myself, and why should he not be? After years of unquestioned and solitary mastery, he sees his realm invaded and has tasks set upon him by a woman” (*op. cit.*, p. 25).

Paradoxically, according to Coetzee’s viewpoint, it is not Crusoe (or Defoe) who does not understand that primitive men have a complete different culture. It is Susan who does not realize the meaning of Friday’s six-note tune, which she calls “noise”. Letting Friday be the way he was before going to the island is the way Cruso clearly shows his position against colonialism and its action of christianizing the “Other” – peoples of “non-civilized” world -, with an obvious interest in domination. Susan fears the story of the colonized people can never be told, since “after years of speechlessness, the very notion of speech may be lost” (COETZEE, 1987, p. 57). The character expresses the belief that “the true story will not be heard till by art we have found a means of giving voice to Friday” (*ibid.*, p. 118).

3 AT PLAY IN THE FIELDS OF THE LORD[1]

> *Never give children a chance of imagining that anything exists in isolation. Make it plain from the very first that all living is relationship. Show them relationships in the woods, in the fields, in the ponds and streams, in the village and the country around it. Rub it in.*
>
> Aldous Huxley, *Island* (1962)

Himself an admirer of Daniel Defoe, as it was possible to learn when he used the literary persona of Robinson Crusoe to deliver his lecture of acceptance of the Nobel Prize – *He and his man* –, in Stockholm, Sweden, in December, 2003, South African writer J. M. Coetzee, mentioned in Chapter 2, in his postmodern parody of the castaway's novel, *Foe*, tells us that nothing was planted during the 28 years Robinson Crusoe stayed on the island. Since Crusoe (Cruso in Coetzee's book) did not have seeds, he just made terraces – an agricultural technique of preparing the land for future crops. In my opinion, and likewise allegorically speaking, *Robinson Crusoe* indeed has been offering the fertile soil for the cultivation of new ideas alongside almost three hundred centuries of readings. The harvest Defoe's work promised comprises the contributions of all critical evaluations.

Gathering all those aspects that have been highlighted thus far, showing their pertinence, and mainly their interconnection, in spite of the paradoxical features some of them might present, will found my attempt at a transdisciplinary, complex, reading of the 21st century. Transdisciplinarity, the approach I chose for this research, is a concept from the works of scholars as Jean Piaget, Edgar Morin and Erich Jantsch, in the 1970s. It expressed the emergent transgression of disciplinary boundaries, surpassing the multidisciplinary and the interdisciplinary approaches

(NICOLESCU, 2002). These new vision and new attitude of some researchers, according to the Charter adopted in the First World Congress of Transdisciplinarity in Convento da Arrábida, Portugal, in 1994, were due to a historically unprecedented growth of knowledge and the new epistemic revolution started in the 20th century with the findings of quantum physics.

Romanian quantum physicist Basarab Nicolescu (*op. cit.*), a signer of the Charter, identifies the fragmentation of knowledge as a threat to our world, with an increase of the inequality between those individuals/nations who have knowledge, excessively directed to technology, and those who do not. Nicolescu indicates the risk of self-destruction to our civilization as the result of conquest, domination and use of Nature at any price. Nature has been desacralized, with the rise of scientism, and objectivity – "a supreme criterion of truth" -, which transformed the subject into an object, "to be dissected, formalized, and manipulated" (p. 13).This new vision of the world, derived from quantum mechanics, in the early 20th century, demolished the foundations of classical thought – the ideas of continuity, local causality and determinism.

TABLE 1. Aspects of knowledge on reality in the contemporary era

The universe is interactive	Everything integrates a whole entity; in the microphysical level, all the bodies of the universe exchange particles. Human beings participate of the creation of fundamental elements of everything.
Everything is vibration	Everything is latent in the universe and manifests itself according to a unique Universal Law.
Reality is an interpretation	While in deep alpha brain waves, human beings are resonant with the energy of the Earth; reality is what one perceives and is tuned to.
Men are intermediary beings	Human beings live between a micro and a macrouniverse.
There is only chaos outside our minds	Everything in the universe comes from the images human beings create inside their minds.
Everything in nature is created in pairs	The energy that creates a particle also creates an opposite one; everything is created in opposite pairs.

Source: ANDREETA; ANDREETA (2004)

Quantum entities – quantons – are very different from the objects of classical physics – corpuscles (or particles) and waves. They are at the same time corpuscles and waves or, more precisely, as Nicolescu (2002) points out, they are neither cospuscles nor waves. The theoretical physicist states that, “if we want to talk about a wave, it is now a question of talking about a wave of probability, which allows us to calculate the probability of obtaining a final state from a particular initial state” (p.13). The uncertainty principle, stated by German physicist Werner Heisenberg (1901-1976), indicates that it is impossible to localize a quanton at a specific point in space and in time. This indeterminism, however, signifies neither chance nor imprecision, but both chance and necessity at once. According to Nicolescu,

> Quantum randomness is really a constructive gamble, which has a meaning – that of the construction of our own macrophysical world. A finer material penetrates a grosser material. The two coexist; they cooperate in a unity that extends from the quantum to the cosmos. (p. 19)

English poet Francis Thompson (1859-1907) reminds us, “thou canst not stir a flower / Without troubling of a star...”[2] Quantum mechanics showed that a new type of causality – global causality - was present at the level of the infinitely small and infinitely brief, and a new concept entered physics – that of nonseparability. Quantum entities continue to interact no matter their distance from one another – differently from the apparent macrophysical laws. Nicolescu (*op. cit.*) stresses that interaction presupposes a connection. “Quantum nonseparability tells us that in this world, at least at a certain level, there is a coherence, a unity of laws that assures the evolution of the totality of natural systems” (p. 18), says the author. He adds that his

concept is well observable in everyday life: any collective body – a family, an enterprise, a nation – is always more than the simple sum of its parts.

TABLE 2. Epistemic changes in the Western world

Classical/modern scientific thought (17th, 18th, 19th centuries)	**Current scientific thought (20th, 21st centuries)**
Classical physics	*Quantum*/Atomic physics
Time and space	Quadridimensional *continuum*
Res cogitans x *res extensa**	Mind and matter = unity
Universe, nature, human being = machinelike entities	Universe, nature, human being = interconnected systems
Local causality, determinism	Eventuality (chaos, uncertainty, change)
Objectivity (empirical observation)	Subjectivity (reality depends on the observer)

Sources: ANDREETA; ANDREETA (2004); CAPRA (1986)

* Distinction of the two major ontological categories comprising reality: thinking things (mind, soul) and extended things (body, matter), made by French philosopher René Descartes (1596-1650)

3.1 Transdisciplinarity and complexity

3.1.1 Disciplines are united, crossed, surpassed

The challenges of understanding our era and achieving harmony between inner being and outer knowledge, as there are hundreds of disciplines and "relentless specialization", led scientists to transdisciplinarity. Nicolescu (2002) asks, "How can a theoretical particle physicist truly hold a dialogue with a neurophysiologist, a mathematician with a poet, a biologist with an economist, a politician with a computer

programmer"? (p. 41) The author remarks that each challenge of our world – as, for example, the formulation of an ethics – requires more and more competencies, and a decision maker needs to take all the givens of the problem into account. There is need of "bridges between the disciplines" (p. 42), which study only one level, if not just fragments, of reality. The emergence of multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity in the middle of the 20th century attested this need.

Nevertheless, according to the signers of the Charter of Transdisciplinarity, neither the former nor the latter of the mentioned approaches could deal with the intersection between different domains of knowledge, which remained an empty ensemble. Multidisciplinarity concerns studying a topic in several disciplines at the same time. It enriches each discipline, but its goal remains limited to the framework of disciplinary research. Interdisciplinarity concerns the transfer of methods from one discipline to another, what can occur in three degrees: application (methods of one discipline transferred to another), epistemology (methods of one discipline transferred to the area of general law), and generation of new disciplines (as when mathematical methods are transferred to physics, generating mathematical physics).

Interdisciplinarity, even if overflowing the disciplines, like multidisciplinarity, still remains within the framework of disciplinary research. Transdisciplinarity, on the other hand, concerns that which is at once between the disciplines, across the different disciplines, and beyond all discipline. Its goal is the understanding of the present world, of which one of the imperatives is the unity of knowledge. What is there in that space between the disciplines? Nicolescu (2002) explains that, from the point of view of classical thought, there is nothing, and "transdisciplinarity appears absurd because it has no object" (p. 44). Yet, in the presence of several levels of Reality – the finding with the

major cultural impact of the quantum revolution -, “the space between and beyond the disciplines is full, just as the quantum vacuum is full of all potentialities”.

By Reality (with a capital R), researchers of transdisciplinarity designate, “that which resists our experiences, representations, descriptions, images, or mathematical formulations” (p. 20). Quantum physicists discovered that “abstraction is not simply an intermediary between us and Nature, a tool for describing reality, but rather one of the constituent parts of Nature” (NECOLESCU, 2002). By “level of Reality”[3], the scientists intend to designate an ensemble of systems that are invariant under certain laws: quantum entities, for example, are subordinate to quantum laws, which depart from the laws of the physical world. Two levels of Reality are different if, while passing from one to the other, there occurs a break in the laws and in fundamental concepts. The discontinuity manifested in the levels of Reality, however, does not prevent them from coexisting - for example, our bodies contain a macro-physical structure and a quantum structure simultaneously.

Knowledge of the coexistence of these two worlds has led to the upheaval of what was formerly considered to be pairs of mutually exclusive contradictories: wave and corpuscle, continuity and discontinuity, local causality and global causality, for instance (NICOLESCU, 2002). Quantum physics found that energy creates all particles in opposing pairs – for any electron, there must be a positron, and for each proton there is an antiproton, which in contact annihilate themselves, returning to the original “nothingness”, an energy (ANDREETA; ANDREETA, 2004). German psychologist Thorwald Dethlefsen (1989) infers that if everything in Nature is created in pairs, every human utterance can only express one aspect of the truth. In order to totally describe anything, the opposed statement is required as well. Hence, each pronouncement on reality is a contradiction.

According to Edgar Morin (2002a), a contradiction can be a *paradox* (if the statement contradicts itself and makes no logical sense), an *antinomy* (a conflict between two demonstrable propositions), an *aporia* (a confrontation of two incompatible solutions). The French thinker remarks that while philosophy has always dealt with the problem of contradiction, classical science has always rejected it. Contradiction had been officially expelled from Western thought by Aristotle, 25 centuries ago, when he introduced logic as a formal system encoding principles of reasoning. The Greek philosopher reduced the deductive reasoning processes to 14 rules and some canons in the *Organon*, a word that means “instrument of reason”. The canons were expected to express truths considered common sense.

Classical logic is founded on three axioms:

1. Identity: A is A.
2. Noncontradiction: A is not non-A.
3. The excluded middle: There exists no third term T (T = Third), which is at the same time A and non-A.

However, as the atomic physics’ finding that the particle has two identities – wave and corpuscle -, is logically impossible, it is clear, as Morin (*op. cit.*) points out, that reality is illogical. When Danish quantum physicist Niels Bohr (1885-1962) declared that both aspects of quantons – wave and corpuscle – were complementary, he started an “amazing epistemic revolution”[4], according to Morin (2002a, p. 221): the acceptance of a contradiction by the scientific rationality. Since the formation of quantum mechanics, around 1930, the founders of the new science were aware of the necessity of formulating a new “quantum logic”. Nicolescu (2002) ascribes Romanian philosopher Stéphane Lupasco (1900-1988) the “logic of contradiction”, which despite its denomination does not violate the axiom of noncontradiction.

The new logic changes only the axiom of the excluded middle: there does exist a third term T, which is at the same time A and non-A. Actually it is situated in another level of Reality. The included middle – the third dynamic, according to Nicolescu, is exercised where that which appears to be disunited (wave or corpuscle) is in fact united (quanton), and that which appears contradictory is perceived as noncontradictory. The physicist emphasizes, "it is the projection of the T-state onto the same single level of Reality that produces the appearance of mutually exclusive, antagonistic pairs. A single level of Reality can only create antagonistic oppositions" (p. 29). Yet, this tension between contradictories builds a unity that includes and goes beyond the sum of the two terms.

The logic of the excluded middle is not invalidated by the logic of the included middle, but its sphere of usefulness is reduced to relatively simple situations. The logic of the included middle, which allows us to cross the different areas of knowledge in a coherent way, is the logic of complexity. Complexity, the multidimensional Reality, and the logic of the included middle constitute the three pillars of transdisciplinarity, and determine its methodology. The transdisciplinary approach does not oppose holism to reductionism, but considers them as two aspects of one and the same knowledge of Reality. According to Nicolescu, "holism and reductionism, or a global and local approach, are two aspects of one and the same multidimensional and multireferential world, the world of complex plurality and of open unity" (2002, p. 117). Complexity is the third new factor that "gave the coup de grâce to the classical vision of the world", says Nicolescu (p. 33).

3.1.2 Vicious circles become virtuous cycles

Edgar Morin remarks that "from the conquest of the Americas to the Copernican revolution, a planet emerged and a cosmos disappeared" (MORIN; KERN, 1999, p. 6).

The “westernization of the world” (p. 8) comprised, through imperialism and exploitation, the compartmentalization of humanity into a hierarchy of races, and banishment of any remnant of archaic peoples, considered primitive, from the Eurocentric culture[5]. All knowledge stored from the dawn of humanity, more than one million years ago, was despised. According to Morin, the “great Western paradigm”[6], formulated by Descartes and imposed to the world since the 17th century, prescribes the logical relationship – that is, disjunction. The universe is split from side to side, dissociating subject from object, science from philosophy, and everything else in opposite pairs.

TABLE 3. The paradigmatic disjunction

Subject	Object
Soul	Body
Spirit	Matter
Quality	Quantity
Finality	Causality
Sensitivity	Reason
Freedom	Determinism
Existence	Essence

Source: MORIN (2002a, p. 270).

The paradigm of exclusion was associated to a principle of reduction, and sciences were isolated from one another, while, inside them, also disciplines were disjointed. Morin; Kern (1999) assert that “according to the ruling dogma, relevance increases with specialization and abstraction”. The authors emphasize that “specialization abs-tracts”, that is, it extracts an object from a given field, rejects the links and interconnections with its environment, “and inserts it in the abstract conceptual zone of the compartmentalized discipline, whose boundaries arbitrarily break the systemicity (the relation of a part to the whole) and the multidimensionality

of phenomena" (p. 123). The philosophers state that thinking that compartmentalizes, divides and isolates is very effective in dealing with artificial machines. When the issues concern human beings or society, however, contextualization is an important factor for efficiency.

In a series of six volumes called *La Méthode*[7] [The Method], Morin exposes what he believes to be the "way" (from the Greek *meta* + *hodos* = way) of the new science – a way which can lead to "re-unite the mutilated, articulate the disjointed, and think the obscured" (2003, p. 37). In contrast with classical science, governed by the paradigm of disjunction, the new science is informed by the paradigm of complexity (from Latin, *com-plectere* = to weave together, to encompass). This paradigm does not stand in opposition to that of disjunction (that would comprise another exclusion), but rather includes it as one moment of "an active and generative process" (MORIN, 2003, p. 462). The paradigm of complexity opposes simplification/disjunction as an absolute principle, but integrates it as a relative principle. Isolating and connecting – analysis and synthesis - are inscribed in a recursive circuit of knowledge, with a twofold focus: object/subject.

If under the paradigm of disjunction natural and human sciences were developed in isolation, now it is not possible to conceive anthropo-social knowledge independent from physical and biological processes anymore, and it is equally known that theories describing these processes are themselves embedded in anthropo-social contexts. Morin (*ibid.*) remarks that within the paradigm of disjunction, this kind of relation would be branded as a logical absurdity, or a vicious circle. The new paradigm, however, points to "the possibility of transforming vicious circles into virtuous cycles which, in the process, are reflexive and generative of complex thinking" (p. 32). How does this complex thinking enable one to connect what is

disjointed? Morin (2002a) says that it is a creative, inventive, transgressing kind of thinking, which comprises logic, but surpasses it – a metalogic thinking.

3.1.3 Mind and nature as a unity

Morin (1999) reminds that the reflexive enterprise makes us face the essential paradox: the operator of the knowledge must become, at the same time, the object of the knowledge. The new paradigm will have to reunite also nature (the brain) and mind (the spirit), split into two realms since the 17th century – the former as object for science and the latter as a refugee in the philosophy. The crisis of materialism, with the findings at the subatomic level (reality is originated from mental images), led to a revival of the spiritualism, not “despite science” anymore, but “thanks to science” (MORIN, 1999, p. 81). One knows that what affects spirit affects the brain and the whole organism – depression can weaken the immunologic system as much as physical pain can provoke altered states of conscience, for instance.

If it is impossible to isolate mind (spirit) from the brain (nature), it is also impossible to isolate mind from culture, and culture from society, as without culture - that is, language, know-how and learning -, the spirit would not have achieved its current stage of development, and the brain of *Homo sapiens* would still be limited to those abilities of a primate of low degree[8]. The sphere of the spirit is inseparable from the sphere of culture, says Morin. Thus, it is possible to reintegrate spirit – brain into humanity, and humanity into animality. Humanity comprises and maintains animality, although it surpasses it. Neurosciences discovered that alongside with the aspects of a physical-chemical machine, biologically organized, the brain integrates originally

human functions – thought and conscience. American psychobiologist Roger Sperry (1913-1994) found the singularity of each hemisphere of the brain[9]:

TABLE 4. The "uniduality" of the brain

LEFT HEMISPHERE	RIGHT HEMISPHERE
Reason	Emotion
Abstract thinking	Concrete thinking
Analysis	Synthesis
Reasoning	Intuition
Explanation	Comprehension
Focuses on objects	Focuses on people
Control/ social domination	Communication psycho –affective

Source: MORIN (1999, p.100).

The brain, as Morin remarks (1999, p. 108), is "a complex of complex systems". Every concept that is separated, compartmentalized, by the simplifying thinking is connected, implicated inside the brain: that which is single, dual, and multiple; centric, polycentric, and acentric; specialized, polyarchic, anarchic; analytic and synthetic; digital and analogical; real and imaginary; rational and irrational. Morin (2003) identifies three principles of the hypercomplexity of the brain (complex thinking):

1. the *dialogical principle*, found in the complex (complementary, competitive, antagonistic) association of instances which are necessary to the existence, functioning and development of an organized phenomenon; these instances complete but also oppose to one another;
2. the *recursive principle* – at the same time, the product is the producer of what produces it, the effect causes what is the cause (the virtuous cycle);

3. the *hologramatic principle* – not only the part is contained in the whole, but the whole is contained in the part (e.g. the cell, which contains all the genetic program of an individual).

Current science identifies that what we know about our reality does not come from a complete form of external things, but from the manipulation of images that we create in our minds (ANDREETA; ANDREETA, 2004). Hence, reality is a representation based on *stimuli* from the outside. According to Morin (1999), it is at the same time construction and translation of what is perceived through the senses. Only through representation it is possible to reach the real. Morin stresses that the mental image is projected and identified with exterior reality during the act of perception, but it duplicates and becomes fantasy in the act of remembering. Fantasies and dreams are also representations, though dissociated from perceptions. There is no difference between images from perception and images from remembrance, dream or fantasy – that is why hallucinations impose themselves as real perceptions. “Representation is the radical constitutive act of both the real and the imaginary”, says Morin (1999, p. 123).

3.1.4 Double thinking: mythos-logos

The relationship between real and imaginary is therefore of complex nature, once they are antagonistic and complementary at the same time. According to Morin, even our ancestors, collector-hunter men/women from Pre-Historic times, used their capacity for thinking in an empirical/logical/rational way. However, archaic men/women performed all technical acts with rituals, embedded in beliefs, myth and magic. At that time, men/women could not conceive themselves as separated from

nature, and their thinking was single and double at once ("unidual"): empirical/logical/rational and symbolic/mythological/magical. Western civilization obliterated natural connections, establishing a schism in thinking between logos and myth, both originally meaning "word", the former supposed to be real, the latter, imaginary. Then, in the early 20th century, psychoanalysis revealed that "mythologies were narratives" (*ibid.,* p. 175) on everything concerning human beings.

Mythology, while narrating the genesis of the world, human identity, man/woman's relationships with others, with themselves, and with the cosmos, showed it was not the outcome of an archaic out-of-date thinking, but of an *archi-thinking,* meaning a thinking which came from the past, a founding thinking, dating from a time when the subjective and the objective were not dissociated yet. According to Morin, though classical science and rationalism tried to expel the symbolic/mythical/ magical thinking from Western culture, it always reappeared strongly, out of people's unconscious, underlying all sorts of discourse. Morin explains that it is the transit from the empirical/logical/rational thinking to the symbolic/mythical/magical thinking that makes a bridge between two different fields of reality:

concrete – abstract,

subjective – objective,

personal – interpersonal,

singular – general,

communitarian – social.

Morin remarks that if "logical thinking cannot surpass the obstacle of contradiction, mythical thinking can" (1999*,* p. 193), because through another way of reasoning – the analogical one – one can surpass oppositions and reach the complementarity of antagonisms. While logic divides reality into several

individualities, which are gathered according to common characteristics, analogy assembles unities that compound the multiplicity in nature according to patterns, the "patterns which connect", as British epistemologist Gregory Bateson (1904-1980) used to say[10]. Analogy, according to Morin (1999), functions as a bridge between concrete and abstract and vice versa, allowing communication of the real universe with the imaginary universe. Knowledge, therefore, "separates and connects the subject and the object in a common universe" (p. 227)

TABLE 5. Complex Thinking

LOGICAL/RATIONAL		**ANALOGICAL/INTUITIVE**
domain of the intellect		based on experience, through perception
analytic		synthesizer
linear	+	non-linear
discriminates, measures, classifies		gathers, relates, connects
fragments knowledge		holistic
based on logic		based on analogy (patterns)
horizontal		vertical

Source: DETHLEFSEN (1989), MORIN (1999)

Complex thinking - empirical/logical/rational plus symbolic/mythological/ magical thinking – is a way to achieve a level of perception different from that reached only logically. This vision will access a different level of Reality, as already mentioned. Nicolescu (2002) reminds us of the transgression of the limits of human sight, with the appearance of astronomical lenses, the telescope, in 17th century, which triggered the exploration of physical reality on the level of the infinitely large. Conversely, in the world of the infinitely small, when microscopes encountered the

quantum barrier (quantum particles are invisible because they are impossible to locate), scientists invented another instrument – the particle accelerator – to enlarge the human field of vision. Therefore, if exploration at the time of Galileo went from the visible toward the visible, in the quantum world it goes from the visible toward that which is beyond the visible.

The comprehension of this level of Reality depends on a double perception: exterior perception of the quantum particles that are moving in the accelerator, and interior perception – "the manifestation of what one can call the quantum imagination" (*op. cit.*, p. 69). Nicolescu explains that it is necessary to quiet the mind from habitual thought, based on the perception of macrophysical levels, which incessantly tells us what is true and what is false. In this moment of interior silence, according to the physicist, "we discover within ourselves a level of natural perception of the unity of contradictories", and we understand how much this quantum world is enclosed within the macrophysical world. Nicolescu (2002) remarks that it is this way that very young children consider what is told in fairy tales normal – their perception of the included third has not yet been submerged by the information from the macrophysical world. Infants have a global perception of their environment – nonseparability is natural – as it was for ancient men/women, before the rise of rationality.

Scientists found that comprehension of the quantum world implies a lived experience that integrates knowledge based on scientific theory and experimentation into our very being. Nicolescu comments that "the word *theory* recovers its etymological meaning, that of "contemplation" (*op. cit.,* p. 70). In the transdisciplinary vision, the classic real/imaginary dichotomy disappears. Knowledge is neither exterior nor interior - it is both simultaneously. The supposed highest level and the supposed lowest level of Reality are united in a zone of absolute transparency, which functions

like a “veil”, says Nicolescu. This zone of non-resistance corresponds to the domain of the sacred – that which does not submit to any rationalization. The scientist explains that the sacred does not oppose reason, it is one of the three facets of Reality, together with the Subject and the Object: “the sacred is that which connects” (*ibid.,* p. 125).

Nicolescu emphasizes that the sacred does not imply beliefs in God, gods or spirits: “the sacred is first of all an experience” (*op. cit.,* p. 125), transmitted by a feeling – “the ‘religious’ feeling”, of that which links beings and things, and induces an absolute respect for the others to whom one feels connected. The sacred is, according to the physicist, the essential element in the structure of consciousness[11]. As transdisciplinarity proposes “a conscious and cosmic verticality, traversing the different levels of Reality” (p. 56), the sacred is what allows the encounter between the ascending movement and the descending movement of information and consciousness through the levels of Reality and the levels of perception. Nicolescu stresses that “transdisciplinarity is neither religious nor irreligious” (2002, p. 128). According to the Charter signed in Portugal, transdisciplinarity leads to “an open attitude towards myths and religions”, but does not privilege any culture. It rejects any attitude that refuses dialogue and discussion – be it ideological, scientific, religious, economic, political or philosophical.

Transdisciplinarity is not supposed to master other disciplines, neither to replace the methodology of each discipline, but it aims at complementing disciplinary approaches – opening them to that which they share and to that which lies beyond them. One of the aspects of transdisciplinarity is research that crosses disciplines. It promotes a dialogue among all the areas of knowledge – exact sciences with social sciences, humanities, art, literature - plus personal experience. The transdisciplinary attitude has three fundamental characteristics: 1- *rigor* in argument – taking all existing data into account; 2- *opening*, involving acceptance of the unknown, the

unexpected and the unpredictable, and 3- *tolerance*, which implies acknowledging the right to ideas and truths opposed to its own fundamental principles. “Shared knowledge should lead to a shared understanding based on an absolute *respect* for the collective and individual Otherness”, says the Charter.

TABLE 6. Comparison between disciplinary knowledge and transdisciplinary knowledge

DISCIPLINARY KNOWLEDGE	TRANSDISCIPLINARY KNOWLEDGE
IN VITRO	IN VIVO
External world – Object	Correspondence between the external world (object) and the internal world (subject)
Knowing	Understanding
Analytic intelligence	A new type of intelligence – a balance between intellect, feelings, and the body
Orientation towards power and possession	Orientation towards astonishment and sharing
Binary logic	Logic of the included middle
Exclusion of values	Inclusion of values

Source: NICOLESCU (2002, p. 153).

3.2 The disciplines of the imaginary

3.2.1 The Marriage of Heaven and Hell

Nicolesco (2002) emphasizes the necessity of a dialogue between science and art, by way of which “information rediscovers its original meaning of ‘in-formation’: to create form” (p. 98). Different levels of Reality and different levels of perception engender different levels of representation, and images corresponding to a certain level of representation have a different quality from those associated to another level. Transdisciplinarity aims at a vision of the equilibrium between the interior and the

exterior portions of the human being, as it was pointed out by English romantic poet William Blake (1757-1827) in his famous work (1790) cited in the subtitle to this section: “Man has no Body distinct from his Soul, for that call'd Body is a portion of Soul discern'd by the five Senses”. Romantic artists and writers, in the first reaction to the supremacy of rationalism and materialism established by classical thought, found beauty in the intimacy of imagination and reason – the poetic experience, which they identified with an experience of life, of self-knowledge and self-creation.

The process was similar to that of the transmutation, in alchemy, of *prima materia* (first matter) into the philosopher’s stone. Actually, much of the knowledge disseminated by the findings of quantum physics in the 20th century, as the union of opposites and the role of imagination in the creation of reality, proclaimed by the Romantics, more than one century before, had been taught by alchemy and hermetic philosophy, both relegated to obscurity in the 18th century. "That wch is below is like that wch is above & that wch is above is like yt wch is below to do ye miracles of one only thing”[12] says the *Emerald Tablet*.[13] The same teaching is present in the Lord’s Prayer, taught by Christ: “Thy Will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven”[14]. Mythologies have stressed that the reality of the universe was that created inside human’s mind, as science, through Quantum Theory, and synchronicity, pointed out by analytic psychology of C. G. Jung,[15] proved recently.

Dethlefsen; Dahlke (2000) posit the importance of surpassing polarization – the division of primordial unities into oppositions – in order to develop our consciousness and reach wholeness. The scholars assert that although human beings can conceive the world only through polarity, the very existence of duplicity allows infer, by opposition, that there is a unity. According to Dethlefsen (1993), the process by which the spirit is individualized through matter, with two poles, is the “original sin” the Bible talks about[16],

when referring to The Fall – the separation from unity – or wholeness. The author remarks that, as the Greek tragedy tells us, the development of the ego is *hybris*, and requires its fall, in order to return to unity. Failure of the ego nevertheless does not imply material death, but the development of a deeper level of consciousness, with the triumph over polarity: the *coniunctio oppositorum*, the marriage of the Sun and the Moon, the balance of the Yang and Yin energies, as other cultures define the moment the included T is reached – salvation, in Christian terminology.

Dethlefsen says that, in the myth, when Oedipus solves the riddle of the Sphinx - "What animal has four legs in the morning, two legs at noon, and three legs in the evening?" - the answer - "the human being" – implies much more than the superficial part of the issue. Actually, the answer is "the human being" not because babies crawl and old men use walking sticks. Number four refers to the four primal elements of physical reality (fire, air, water and earth), to which a child inherently identifies. Dethlefsen (1993) stresses that while crawling, a child only looks down to the floor (the soil – the matter); when the human being stays upright, he/she can look upward and downward, identifying sky and earth, that symbolize spirit and matter. Viewing everything through polarization, he/she has to choose either one or the other – good or evil, right or wrong. The conflict leads to doubt, insecurity, and sickness. Only with maturity a third term (T) is included, forming the triangle, meaning a balance (thesis, antithesis, synthesis). Number three is the expression of perfection, the end of the opposition, which is an included T in another level of Reality – another realm, that of consciousness. At this point, *contraria sunt complementa* (contraries are complementary), as Morin (2002a) professes.

Dethlefsen (1989) explains the two different ways of thinking with two sets of concepts: (a) encompasses *raven, rat, dog, ant, crocodile, bear, elephant*; (b) enrolls

lead, she-goat, teeth, ivy, monastery cell, black, miner. Which common factor does each one of them have? In (a) we easily recognize that all elements belong to a same category: animal. In (b) the concepts are not homogeneous, so it is difficult to identify what connects them. The first assembly follows the logical/rational thinking, which divides reality in several individualities, gathered according to common characteristics. In the cited example, all elements are animals. The second set assembles unities that compound the multiplicity in nature. The author remarks that the best example of this order is the Periodical Table of Elements, which reduces the multiplicity of phenomena to just a few basic qualities, whose combinations result in a multiform physical reality. According to Dethlefsen (1989), if we want to encompass all reality, we have to find connections among all realms. The starting-point would be always the original idea, since concepts precede forms. A periodical table of reality must be constructed with hypothetical unities based on primal ideas, archetypes.

TABLE 7. Example of analogical thinking (vertical) x logical thinking (horizontal)

PRINCIPLE	**(X)***	**(Y)***					
Definition	Structure,inibition, resistence, time	Energy,impulse					
Energy	Yin	Yang					
Mineral	Lead, calcareous	Iron					
Vegetable	Ivy, pricly plant	Nettle					
Animal	Raven, she-goat	Rat	Dog	Ant	Crocodile	Bear	Elephant
Human body	Skeleton, teeth	Muscles, arterial blood					
Local	Prison, cemetery, rest home, monastery	Forge, battle field					
Region	Hill, desert	Volcano					
Temperature	Cold	Hot					
Profession	Miner	Soldier					
Age	Old people	Young people					
Disease	Sclerosis, degenerative diseases, kidney stones	Inflammations, Injuries					
Color	Black, navy blue	Red					
Sky	Saturn	Mars					

Source: DETHLEFSEN (1989, p. 78)

*** (X) and (Y) are hypothetical names for the principles.**

Basic principles of reality are formed by basic concepts, as the ones of *structure, impeachment, resistance, time*. Things that have to do with the idea comprehended by those characteristics together belong to the same set, as the ones cited in Table 7. Dethlefsen (*op. cit.*) asserts that observing the characteristics of each object, live being, psychological type, etc., one can presume, by analogy, even the probability of diseases (in (b), degenerative ones, sclerosis or kidney stones), which follows the same principle. If the matrix is altered, that is, if the primal principle changes, all the manifestations change simultaneously, in a vertical chain of analogies. This is one of the basic differences between logical thinking, which is developed horizontally, by adding elements to an established category, and analogical thinking, which enchains things vertically, following primal principles.

3.2.2 A bridge between abstract and concrete

Morin (1999) remarks that if the excess of analogy and atrophy of logic lead to delirium, the hypertrophy of logic and atrophy of analogy lead to the sterility of thinking. Thinking through analogy, in the standpoint of Morin, forms a bridge between concrete and abstract, through which “conception” is created – that is, a new method of organizing experience and imagining what is possible. Incidentally, he reminds us that science is acquainted with similar processes of knowledge: isomorphism, homeomorphism and homology. Hence, it is necessary, according to the French thinker, to rehabilitate also the metaphor, through which the poetical sphere can be expressed. Lakoff; Johnson (2003, p. 5) state that, “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”. The authors ponder that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language,

but in thought and action – our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature, and we talk and act according to the way we conceive things.

Morin (*op. cit.*) ponders: if reality is representation according to our conception, we need a language capable of expressing the subjective activity. Heisenberg (1999) had already pointed out that quantum theory needed a language similar to that used daily, or to poetry. Our verbal language and Mathematics (equations), which fit the reductionist and mechanistic model of science from the past, do not suffice to describe the phenomena scientists are faced with. Researchers are aware of the usefulness of logic to describe linear systems of cause and effect, but when the sequences become circular, as those identified by current science, the description in logical terms generates paradoxes. As Lakoff; Johnson (2003, p. 235) say, metaphor "is a matter of *imaginative rationality*". It permits an understanding of one kind of experience in terms of another. Metaphors "are capable of creating new understandings and, therefore, new realities". The analogical-poetic bridge enables communication of the real universe with the imaginary universe, says Morin.

According to C. G. Jung (1875-1961), metaphors are also the way archetypal contents express themselves. Jung (1978) explains that archetypal images are universal patterns or motifs that come from the collective unconscious[17]. They are the basic content of religions, mythologies, legends and fairy tales. These primordial images seem to be innate and inherited shapes of the human mind. They can be instinctive trends perceived by the senses, or "manifest themselves in fantasies and often reveal their presence only by symbolic images" (p. 58). Jung distinguishes "natural" symbols from "cultural" symbols – the former, derived from the unconscious contents of the psyche, "represent an enormous number of variations on the essential archetypal images", many of them found in primitive societies. The cultural

ones are “those that have been used to express ‘eternal truths’, and have become collective images accepted by civilized societies (*ibid.*).

Symbols are important, as stated by Jung, to connect human beings with nature and the cosmos, from which scientific understanding isolated them. Human beings lost their “emotional ‘unconscious identity’ with natural phenomena”, says Jung (*op. cit.*, p. 85). The symbol-producing function of the dreams is “an attempt to bring the original mind of man into ‘advanced’ or differentiated consciousness” (p. 88). Jung says that interpreting the symbols has a practical role in our personal development and health, because it allows reconciling the antagonistic elements of our psyche – consciousness and personal unconscious -, through the process of individuation, whose goal is to reach the Self[18]. Jung identifies the unconsciously occurrence of genuine symbols in literature.

> It is therefore to be expected that the poet will turn to mythological figures in order to give suitable expression to his experience. Nothing would be more mistaken than to suppose that he is working with second-hand material. On the contrary, the primordial experience is the source of his creativeness, but it is so dark and amorphous that it requires the related mythological imagery to give it form. In itself it is wordless and imageless, for it is a vision seen “as in a glass, darkly”. It is nothing but a tremendous intuition striving for expression. It is like a whirlwind that seizes everything within reach and assumes visible form as it swirls upward. Since the expression can never match the richness of the vision and can never exhaust its possibilities, the poet must have at his disposal a huge store of material if he is to communicate even a fraction of what he has glimpsed, and must make use of difficult and contradictory images in order to express the strange paradoxes of his vision. (JUNG, 1978a, pp. 96-97)

Romanian historian of religion Mircea Eliade (1907-1986) points out that thanks to literature the great myths resisted 19th century rationalism, positivism and scientism. According to Eliade (1991), confined to the mind of the human beings, as unconscious remembrances, images from an a-historical time were kept alive as imagination, which poets and writers release. Eliade reminds us that etymologically ‘imagination’ comes from *imago*, which means representation, imitation. He says that imagining is seeing the world in its wholeness, since images have the power and the

mission of showing everything that is refractory to the concept. That is why the symbol is not to be consciously understood. Neither is it to be limited to the hypothetical meaning an author pretends to express. Eliade assures that no writer can reach a complete meaning of his/her work, and that archaic symbolism reappears spontaneously even in the works of ‘realist’ authors, who ignore everything about such symbols.

“To see a world in a grain of sand / And heaven in a wild flower / Hold infinity in the palm of your hand / And eternity in an hour”, said Blake in *Auguries of Innocence*, as if suggesting the connections of everything in the cosmos, which can only be apprehended through the connection of all source of knowledge, as complex thinking requires. French philosopher Gaston Bachelard (1884-1962), who anticipated the shift in paradigm that would be later announced by Thomas Kuhn (2000),[6] says that when we have mythological facts as support to something, we acknowledge a permanent action, faithful to primitive dreams. For Bachelard (2003), reading poetic images brings us "the experience of openness, of newness". The reader is called upon to continue the writer's reference to images, and is aware of being in a state of open imagination.

4 THE PARABLE OF DISCONNECTEDNESS

(...) I go to gather this
The sacred knowledge, here and there dispersed
About the world, long lost or never found.

Robert Browning, Paracelsus *(1835)*

Archaic men/women[1] were in such a way integrated into nature, that aspects of water, earth and sky constituted a language by means of which they could know what was happening in their inner world. Animals, plants, stones, rivers talked directly to their souls, since there were affinities among them. Yet, this intimacy has been lost through our evolutionary story. While in the process of developing rationality, the human species was increasingly disconnected from nature, to the point they became two apparently different universes: human beings put themselves apart from other living systems. The "natural" language was translated into several others, as verbal languages and mathematics[2], and consequently men/women have unlearned how to converse with their souls.

Science has contributed to a complete rupture in that unit - mind and nature -, insofar as the intervention of religion became necessary in order to re-ligare (re-connect) the human being with his/her center. As a counterpart, viewed through the eyes of scientists, the physical world has showed itself accurately, teaching men/women how each fragment of material phenomena is presented, what allowed the huge technical progress in Western World. Robinson Crusoe remarks, in his first year on the "Island of Despair":

> (…) I must needs observe, that as Reason is the Substance and Original of the Mathematicks, so by stating and squaring every thing by Reason, and by making the most rational Judgement of things, every Man may be in time Master of every mechanick Art. (pp. 50-1)[3]

Nevertheless, the 18th century, with the affirmation of modern science, over-exercised rationality, and “swept the crumbs under the carpet”. This means that all that data from millions of years of experience on the Earth, since the very beginning of our creation – or evolution, from another species -, was stored in the psychic “underworld”, as Jung (2002) has proved. Since then, all the basic instinctive strata, as well as the memory of that numinous experience from the pre-logical state of mind can only emerge from the collective unconscious in images that compound myths, visions, fantasies and dreams.

Eliade (1991) asserts that the myth, the symbol, and the image may be camouflaged, mutilated, degraded, but can never be extirpated from the human soul. From the 18th century onwards, according to the author, they resisted to this hibernation thanks mainly to literature. And as the human being has intrinsic symbolic thought, the symbol discloses some aspects of reality that challenge all other means of knowledge. We know nowadays that men/women, as all living systems, have the memory of the whole history of their existences imprinted on them. An event, a scene, a taste, a smell, a sound may stimulate our imagination.

That inner enthusiasm people feel when attending a firework show, for instance, probably is due to an unconscious remembrance of the exceptional light and brightness originated in the first moments of formation of the universe, an experience we have stamped in our cells (HUXLEY, 1965). When men/women “remember” the sensations of some prehistoric event, this does not mean they retreat to the animal kingdom or to the deepest organic origins of humankind, but that they restore that paradisiacal state of primordial human beings. According to Eliade (1991), through images and symbols, in dreams and reveries, men/women recover the “lost paradise” and can live the great mythical themes without even knowing the myths, the

narratives of the paradigms of all human significant acts. As Jung demonstrates, the collective unconscious is the dwelling place of the monsters, but also of heroes, gods, goddesses and fairies, who tell about the origins of the human condition.

Living the myths means having a real religious experience (ELIADE, 1998), that transports us to an existence not yet desacralized, to numinous moments (from Latin numen, god), a reality that does not belong to our physical world. Hierophanies – the manifestations of the sacred – cannot be described, not even imagined, by analytical language. Yet, the unveiling of the sacredness of some event, the revelation of the irruption of the sacred – according to Eliade (1987) an irruption of creative energy into the world -, can be expressed by symbols. Men/women live by images that lie in their psyche, though not consciously knowing, as their primitive ancestors did, what the trees, the animals, the rivers and the like in nature tell them.

The primordial images that lie behind the words of a literature work are not always identified or/and understood. Nevertheless, they are always captured by the readers' unconscious, and their meanings are intuitively apprehended. As Jung (1978a, p. 76) says, symbols "are the best possible expressions for something unknown – bridges thrown out towards an unseen shore". The creative process, according to Jung, consists in the unconscious activation of an archetypal image, and in elaborating and shaping this image into the finished work. Archetypes are primordial images or mythological figures – a god, a demon, a human being or a process – that recurs each time creative fantasy is freely expressed.

Even in our daily life the traces of those archetypical experiences are patent, despite men/women not feeling inserted in the cosmos as in ancient times, when they read what was "written on the stars". Perhaps the link with nature is not totally broken, for it can be seen frequently, for instance, when people knock wood to feel

protected against evil, or forecast the rain when feeling some pain. Exemplary images also remain alive in fairy tales, those old popular stories that have been narrated to children (in the past, to adult people too) in order to entertain them[4]. Heirs of myths, fairy tales present the same contents of dreams and visions (CAMPBELL, 1997). Von Franz (2005) says it is impossible to translate the content of a fairy tale by means of the intellect. The best way, according to the author, is to use our own psychological experience, making comparative studies and pointing out the web of associations among the archetypical images.

Robinson Crusoe, with its plain style, simple language, and straightforward ideas, expressed in concrete terms – sometimes even in a childish way -, may perfectly be viewed as a story for children. Actually it has been considered so for a long time, as mentioned in Chapter 1, because it has elements comparable to those peculiar to the fairy tales. There are plenty of images in Crusoe's story that are analogous to those originated in myths. Indeed, according to von Franz (1985), in our civilization all archetypical contents are viewed as childlike ideas. Yet, precisely because of that, they are perennial in our minds. The author says that fairy tales reflect our elementary psychological structure better than myths or the literary production, for they are not bound to a fixed time and civilization.

Robinson Crusoe is so elementary, so simple, and so fundamental – like fairy tales -, that it can migrate to other countries, can be translated into other languages with no troubles, and has been easily understood – and appreciated – by non-British readers. Its language, like the language of fairy tales, seems to be the universal language of mankind, because it is structured on archetypical images. These archetypes tell us about primordial principles, which allow us to understand phenomena in the physical, historical and social realms. Decoding the symbol does

not give us just another representation of reality. It also, by analogy – as explained in Chapter 3 -, allows us to apprehend a much more complex reality, in which all fields of knowledge are interrelated.

The German Brothers Grimm (Jacob, 1785-1963, and Willhelm, 1786-1859) published their two volumes of Children's and Household Tales (1812, 1814)[5], with 210 collected stories, according to Campbell (1997). About 25% of those stories, as von Franz (2005) emphasizes, begin with the difficulties of a king in choosing one out of his three sons to become his heir, and they always finished with the third son as the winner. Following the studies of Jung, von Franz explains that the king and his three sons mean the four functions of the consciousness:[6] the father is the dominant function; the two elder sons are the auxiliary functions, and the third son represents the inferior function in a given behavior, by means of which consciousness obtains its orientation. Defoe's novel does not present us a king, but an old housefather in a predominantly patriarchal society. Robinson Crusoe, the protagonist of the novel, is his third son, the one who brings renewal, according to von Franz, after the failure of his siblings.

The principal function is that one through which people adapt themselves to the collective necessities. If the father is the thinking function, for instance, the third son represents a shift in the command to the feeling function, which, with the aid of sensation and intuition, promotes an important change in the consciousness, be it an individual's or, symbolically, the consciousness of a society, a nation or a civilization. Defoe's tale may well be read as a parable of the deep changes European people were attending to in their political, social, religious life during the late 17th and throughout the 18th centuries, as mentioned in Chapter 1. This certainly joined extremely radical transformations in the spirit of those Western men/women. While

representing the collective sphere, Crusoe discloses also the inner processes of every human being in searching for the center, the unity of his/her personality, in order to “regain the paradise lost”.

Interconnecting individual events with communal ones is a task made possible exactly by the identification of the “patterns which connect”, as mentioned in Chapter 3. Those will obviously be primordial principles, which, in a vertical chain, pervade manifestations in all realms of reality. From this moment on, I will present my analysis assembling the chosen elements in agreement with each of the four basic principles of human nature, represented by our physical reality. It is important to notice, however, that the classical elements – water, earth, air and fire – will not be considered in their concrete manifestations, although these also represent the correspondent principles, but in their primal meanings – the archetypical patterns. Not only images can be examined in the light of such model, but also events, ideas, numbers, places, and other phenomena.

4.1 Water – the emotions

When Robinson was 18 years old, his father – a successful German merchant settled first in Hull and later in York, whose real surname was Kreutznaer[7], oddly corrupted to Crusoe - tried to make him change the rambling thoughts his “head began to be filled with” (p. 4). The father argued that Robinson’s “meer wandring inclination” would lead him to take a “foolish step”, causing a disaster to himself. As the eldest son had been killed in battlefield and the second son had disappeared, the old man made a long discourse counseling Robinson not to leave his house and his country. In the father’s opinion, it was for “men of desperate fortunes, on one hand, or of aspiring superior fortunes, on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, to rise

by enterprise and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road" (p.5).

> (…) mine was the middle State, or what might be called the upper Station of low life, which he had found by long Experience was the best State in the World, the most suited to human Happiness, not exposed to the Miseries and Hardships, the Labour and Sufferings of the mechanick [pertaining to manual labor] Part of Mankind, and not not embarrass'd with the Pride, Luxury, Ambition and Envy of the upper Part of Mankind. (*loc. cit.*)

Having neither poverty nor riches, placed "between the mean and the great", was the "standard of true felicity" (*loc. cit.*), a state of life desired even by kings. The German merchant certainly had been enthusiastic with the rise of the middle class in England[8], and it is well possible, as the influence of religion had increased, that he had alluded to Agur's prayer, in the Bible (Proverbs 30:8): "give me neither poverty nor riches, but give me only my daily bread". Nevertheless Defoe plays with the expressions "middle station" and "middle state", what would remind us also of the consecrated idea in Western world of the "golden mean", a concept originated in the works of the Greek philosophers (Plato [2006] – "the true life (…) should embrace the middle state" - and Aristotle [2006] – "a master in any art (…) chooses the relative mean")[9]. Actually, this idea had already appeared in mythology, when the Cretan Daedalus warned his son Icarus to fly "the middle course" between the sun and the sea[10], and in the Doric saying carved on the front of the temple of Delphi: "Nothing in excess".[11]

It might be possible also that Defoe wanted to refer to a middle position of man in nature, as posited by the Great Chain of Being, a ranking of all forms of life, a medieval conception of the order of the universe, in which mankind is the middle state between God (spirit) and rocks (matter), being constituted by both.[12] Placed between angels and beasts, men/women have a dilemma: not allowing reason to rule the emotions is to descend to the level of the beasts; on the other direction, to

attempt to go above his place can lead to disaster. The best position is that of the middle state, avoiding the extremes, and for this reason, according to French philosopher Blaise Pascal (1623-1662), humans are limited – their bodies as much as their intellect cannot apprehend the whole reality.[13]

Pascal (2001) defined man/woman as “a mean between nothing and everything”, and Alexander Pope (2000) would place him/her “on this isthmus of a middle state”, stating that, he/she was “Created half to rise, and half to fall; / Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all.[14] The wisdom of Robinson’s father had its origin probably in these pessimistic philosophical point of view, which led to the fear of ascending; yet, to a certain extent it is akin to the optimistic Buddhist philosophy of the Middle Way - a path of moderation, away from the extremes of self-indulgence and opposing self-mortification[15]. If one regards life as a succession of cyclic events, the middle state assures stableness, as in a certain moment in the circular cycle, the two extremes do touch, situations change easily into their opposite. This circumstance may also be compared to the motion of a pendulum, which changes direction when reaching each peak. The middle station “had the fewest Disasters, and was not expos’d to so many Vicissitudes as the higher or lower Part of Mankind; nay, they were not subjected to so many Distempers and Uneasinesses either of Body or Mind” (p. 5).

However we also know that parents project the life they did not live on their children: when someone is in the “middle passage”, that phase of the life between middle age and old age, one cannot any more believe in those fantastic plans one used to conceive when young. Ultimately, one has to learn to cope with frustration, and face mediocrity (HOLLIS, 1995). Robinson’s father might be undergoing a moment like that, when he told his son that

> "(…) Temperance, Moderation, Quietness, Health, Society, all agreeable Diversions, and all desirable Pleasures, were the Blessings attending the middle Station of Life; that this Way Men went silently and smoothly thro' the World, and comfortably out of it, not embarass'd with the Labours of the Hands or of the Head, not sold to the Life of Slavery for daily Bread, or harrast with perplex'd Circumstances, which rob the Soul of Peace, and the Body of Rest; not enrag'd with the Passion of Envy, or secret burning Lust of Ambition for great things; but in easy Circumstances sliding gently thro' the World, and sensibly tasting the Sweets of living, without the bitter feeling that they are happy, and learning by every Day's Experience to know it more sensibly. (*loc. cit.*)

Indeed, the ideas of Robinson's father depict the standpoint of many British citizens, whose values, in the mid 17th century, were quite different from the system that was rising in England and all Europe. Food, clothing, dwelling and other basic resources had been produced and distributed for use of the community; trade had not been following an economic motivation, but had been based in interchange; still there were moral restrictions to loans with interests, and profit was not encouraged in transactions (CAPRA, 1986). Yet, there was a shift already in curse, in Western world. The scientific revolution was causing a radical transformation in thought: critical rationalism, empiricism and individualism would soon become the dominant values. Materialism and a secular orientation would lead to the production of superfluous and deluxe goods, and the establishment of a market and a financial system, with the growth of capitalism (as mentioned in Chapter 1).

Jung (2004) says that psychic energy and physical energy are probably different forms of a same thing. That would explain why the mental processes of a given person – or group – have similarities with social, cultural or other collective events with no causal relationship, except synchronicity[16]. In this case, what Defoe's novel states in the beginning is that the Western world was radically changing at the time when Robinson Crusoe was born. The protagonist is presented as the emblem

of that turbulence that precedes any revolution. In fact as the consciousness of the man/woman of that time, the spirit of all British and European societies, and Western civilization were already involved in a process of transformation.

Robinson Crusoe did not want to attend his ancestors' calling – entering business or the law –, because his "thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the World" (p. 6). His was a calling from the unconscious in order to bring new contents into human consciousness. Every time we have to transform an aspect of our relationship with the cosmos (overcoming an old personal or communal value), we are "called" to an "adventure", a journey inside ourselves that makes us leave the old thought and adhere to the new one. In his mind, Robinson "would be satisfied with nothing but going to Sea" (p. 4), even if that meant, "be the miserablest Wretch that was ever born" (p. 7), as his father prophesied. When "sincerely affected" by the discourse and the tears of the old father, Robinson decided not to think on going abroad anymore. "But alas! A fey Days wore it all off" (*loc. cit.*).

One year later he "continued obstinately deaf to all Proposals of settling to Business" (*loc. cit*). On the first of September 1651, at Hull, he went on board a ship to London. The third son of the tale is destined to be the hero. According to von Franz (1992), he chooses the conflict, he decides to face the unknown – like the Prodigal Son and Jonah from the biblical stories[17] - instead of ignoring what his unconscious is telling him to do. Accepting this task is not easy, says Hollis (1997): the hero has to persist on the path, against his own lethargy, his fear and his desire to come back home. Furthermore this decision implies a rupture in the relationship with his parents. Psychology tells us that it is necessary to "kill" the image of the father inside one's mind so as to grow up (DETHLEFSEN, 1993).

A child is completely dependent on his/her parents. The child's thought is a magical one – the exterior and the make-believe worlds are not differentiated from the inner world (HOLLIS, 1995) – and leads to fantastic plans: "When I grow-up I am going to learn how to fly". Then adolescence brings pain and confusion to youths, whose egos have the heroic thought – that of hope and projection of the unknown through fancies of greatness and accomplishments. This way of thinking allows young people to leave home and search for their own lives and identities. It is the calling for adventure and for a quest – although the youth does not know which one yet. Hollis (*op. cit.*) states that during our lifetime we pass through different identities, in cycles of about seven to ten years, when people undergo simultaneously important physical and social transformations. The transitions from one phase to another are autonomous processes, which provoke repeated "deaths" and "rebirths". For the new man/woman, with a new way of thinking, to affirm him/herself, it is necessary that the old one dies.

Since ancient times, men/women perform "rites of passage" in order to promote the initiation into puberty – the passage from childhood or adolescence to adult age. According to Eliade (1987), those rites, as well as the ones performed when someone is born, marries and dies, imply a radical change in the ontological and social status. The institution of puberty initiation, with complex ceremonies, has been widely disseminated in the archaic stages of culture, and plays an important role: in order to become a man/woman, the novice has to "die" to his/her first natural life and be "reborn" to a higher religious and cultural life.

Initiation rites were considered of superhuman origin – instituted by gods, cultural heroes or mythical ancestors -, so they represented divine actions. The initiation of the "child" usually comprises separation from the parents, "death" – the

break of the ties of dependence -, and resurrection, before learning of the mysteries, and return to the community, with the knowledge and inner strength to become an adult (HOLLIS, 1995). The process, in ancient societies executed in real rituals of passage, still occur, symbolically, in profane acts of our society – as a solemnity of graduation, a fifteen-year birthday party, a prom,[18] and the like -, and formally in baptism, wedding and Eucharist ceremonies of religious societies.

Robinson Crusoe, representing the man/woman of the 18th century, indeed performed an initiation rite to enter another state of consciousness. It was with his childish mind that Defoe's protagonist answered to the calling, which he viewed as an "apparent obstinate adhering to my [his] foolish inclination of wandring abroad" (p. 29). The initiatory ceremony begins with the separation of the youth from his/her family and a period of retirement in the jungle, in a hut, or being "swallowed by a monster" (a big fish, for instance, as in Jonah's story). As initiation corresponds to a second birth, the initiatory rite requires first a *regressus ad uterum* (return to the uterus), as Eliade (1998) stresses.

Thus it was not by chance that Robinson's adventures began in a ship. Properly gendered as feminine, in English, the word "ship" is synonymous with "vessel", which in its other meaning is a symbol of the feminine principle, and with ark, a word that evokes the mysterious knowledge [from Latin, *arca* (box) and *Arcanum* (secret, mystery)]. The barge symbolizes the trip, a crossing by people alive or dead, the passage to another world. The protection of Egyptian goddess Isis, in ancient times, was invoked by means of a ship with candles and perfumes, the boat of Peter is symbol of the Catholic Church, the central part of a church – called "nave" - is an invitation to the "great spiritual travel". Bachelard (1997) states that the boat evokes the womb as well as the coffin. In this case, death would not be the last trip, but the first one.

The initiatory hut or the monster's stomach symbolizes the maternal womb, and the novice's symbolic death signifies a regression to the embryonic state, with great suffering (some of primitive rituals also include physical sufferings of the novice meaning spiritual torments). In cosmologic terms, the fetal state is equivalent to a temporary regression to the virtual, precosmic mode (ELIADE, 1987). Robinson Crusoe's *regressus ad uterum* was performed going on board the ship, where since the very beginning of his adventure he could sense those would not be peaceful times for him. Soon the first tempest occurred, and almost made him abandon his intentions. The following day, however, he changed his mind.

> *In a word, as the Sea was returned to its Smoothness of Surface and settled Calmness by the Abatement of that Storm, so the Hurry of my Thoughts being over, my Fears and Apprehensions of being swallow'd up by the Sea being forgotten, and the Current of my former Desires return'd, I entirely forgot the Vows and Promises that I made in my Distress. (p. 9)*

A second storm frightened him dreadfully and attending the ship sink into the sea made Robinson Crusoe know a new suffering: "my Heart was as it were dead within me, partly with Fright, partly with Horror of Mind and Thoughts of what was yet before me" (p. 11). Again he thought of coming back home, but he feared he would be seen as a looser by his parents and neighbors. Finally, he decided to go on board a vessel that was going to Guinea, in the coast of Africa – "the only Voyage which I may say was successful in all my Adventures" (p. 14). During this travel, he learned with the captain how to be a sailor and a merchant. The next travel, however, would be "the unhappiest Voyage that ever Man made" (p. 15), since Turkish pirates made him prisoner, after killing some of his mates. Robinson Crusoe lived for two years as slave to a moor in Sallee until he could evade.

In his master's boat, he escaped from slavery bringing with him a moor boy named Xury. In fairy tales, the presence of a child is the symbol of the Self – the

center of the psyche – according to Jungian psychology, and so the child means someone's capacity of solving problems with the right idea. The child might also be the infantile shadow, the restoration of naivety (VON FRANZ, 1984), that capacity that Christ mentioned as indispensable to enter the "kingdom of God".[19] In the myths, children walk among lions and tigers – negative and destructive emotions -, meaning the renovation of life. Xury also helped Crusoe to kill a lion in their escape from Sallee. The lion, a quite used symbol in ancient times in Egypt and in alchemy, refers to power and resurrection – death and renovation. When the lion appears, according to von Franz (*op. cit.*), we know the personality is facing very strong emotions or desires, stronger than the ego.

The internal fight between his aspirations and those attitudes recommended by his father did not cease even when Robinson Crusoe was already a well-succeeded planter in Brazil:

> (…) for me to do wrong that never did right, was no great Wonder: I had no Remedy but to go on; I was gotten into an employment quite remote to my Genius, and directly contrary to the Life I delighted in, and for which I forsook my Father's House, and broke thro' all his good Advice (…) (p. 27)

As his business and wealth increased, Robinson Crusoe's "Head began to be full of Projects and Undertakings beyond my [his] Reach", though he knew that "such as are indeed often the Ruine of the best Heads in Business" (p. 29), an argument that suits perfectly what seems to have been the thought of the author, himself a man of extravagant – and unsuccessful – projects. Even so, intuitive perception was followed again, in his ill-fated travel to Guinea, when he left Brazil, "and obey'd blindly the Dictates of my [his] Fancy rather than my [his] Reason" (p. 31). Crusoe went on board on the 1st of September [1659], with the goal of purchasing "Negroes" to be

slaves in Brazil. Another time in the ship, he would soon know that the ocean's water cradles like a mother, as Bachelard (1997) remarks, but may also suddenly become raging and cruel.

He reports that, "a violent Tournado or Hurricane took us [them] quite out of our [their] Knowledge", and for 12 days a storm made him "expect to be swallowed up" (p. 32). When the ship was reaching land, a second storm came upon her. The ship struck upon a sandbank, so Crusoe and his men had to shelter from the waves. Fearing the ship would break at every minute, the 11 remnant sailors went on board a boat and got off into the sea. According to Crusoe, they knew the boat could not resist the fury of the sea and they would inevitably drown. Even so, they "work'd at the Oar towards Land, tho' with heavy Hearts, like Men going to Execution" (p. 33). As Bachelard (2001) says, with the aid of violent air, the water becomes the elemental fury, pure movement - the tempest is the original strength, the original voice, the original will – the wind of wrath, the act that creates. As they had foreseen,

> After we had row'd, or rather driven about a League and a Half, as we reckon'd it, a raging Wave, Mountain-like, came rowling a-stern of us, and plainly bad us expect the *Coup de Grace*. In a word, it took us with such a Fury, that it overset the Boat at once; and separating us as well from the Boat, as from one another, gave us not time hardly to say, O God! For we were all swallowed up in a Moment. (p. 34)

"Nothing can describe the Confusion of Thought which I felt when I sank into the Water" (*loc. cit*), remarked Robinson Crusoe. When his ship sank into the ocean, Crusoe would leave the symbolic womb and experience a dive into the unconscious. Psychologically, according to Jung (2000), the water means the spirit that becomes unconscious. The myths tell that the descent to deepness – the immersion in water – signifies regression to what is pre-formal, reincorporation into the undifferentiated mode of pre-existence. It repeats the cosmogonic act of formal manifestation, is

equivalent to dissolution of forms (ELIADE, 1987), as it is told in the Bible, in *Genesis*, 1:2, “And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters”.

Water is a recurrent symbol in all mythologies (Babylonian, Egyptian, Hebrew, Indian, Greek, etc.), in which cyclic floods[20] mean a rebirth of a civilization. Principle of what is formless and potential, basis of every cosmic manifestation, water symbolizes the primal substance from which all forms come and to which they will return. Hence, emerging from the water is a repetition of the act of creation in which form was first expressed[21]. In initiation rituals, water confers a “new birth”. Baptism, the ceremonial immersion in water, symbolizes one of the stages of the hero’s journey, when the “old man” dies and gives birth to a new, purified, regenerated being (ELIADE, 1996).

Robinson saw the sea come after him “as high as a great Hill, and as furious as an Enemy which I [he] had no Means or Strength to contend with” (p. 34), and described what can be called a “fight” with the ocean until he could reach the shore, safe from the violent waves. According to Jung (2000), the unconscious, symbolized by the water, is a kind of personal intimacy which is called “heart” by the Bible, the source of “bad thoughts”. “Above all else, guard your heart, for it is the wellspring of life”, says the biblical *Book of Proverbs*, 4:23. Fox (1968) explains that the water, in the Bible, represents the human soul – that is why Jung (*op. ci.t*) mentions the image someone sees reflected on the water, as in the myth of Narcissus, as his/her own true face, not his/her *personae*[22].

Primitive people feared emotions, but were prevented of the perils of the unconscious (“perils of the soul”) by rituals. Emotions give psychic energy to images (or ideas), turning them numinous, according to Jung (1978), and are one of the four elements of the human nature. They are indispensable when in harmony with the

others – intellect, matter and spirit -, as Fox (1950) remarks. Yet, if not controlled, they become the red horse mentioned in *Apocalypse*, 6: “Its rider was given power to take peace from the earth and to make men slay each other. To him was given a large sword”. Robinson Crusoe used to follow only his feelings until he drowned in his emotion. Yet, this Crusoe “died” and a “new man”, with a new way of thinking, was born – the same change that had happened to the author’s nation.

4.2 Earth – the matter

“Lord! How was it possible I could get on Shore?” (p. 35) The victory over the waters means the establishment of stable forms, i.e. creation. Reborn from mother-water, Robinson Crusoe fell safe in the arms of mother-earth. The primordial image of Mother Earth (Gaia, or Ge, in Hesiod *Theogony*[23]) is found throughout the world in countless forms and variants. It is the *Terra Mater* or *Tellus Mater* of Mediterranean religions, who gives birth to all beings (ELIADE, 1987). In the Homeric *Hymn to Earth*, she is the “Earth, mother of all, eldest of all beings”, who “feeds all creatures that are in the world”[24]. For Aeschylus, it is the “mother of all things, and foster-nurse, and womb that takes their seed”[25]. In several civilizations, earth presents itself as the foundation of every expression of existence in material world.

As a mother, the earth is what gives birth to living forms made of its own substance. What the Western cosmogony tells in myths is found also by the current science – the Earth, according to the Gaia hypothesis[26], is a superorganism in which life as a whole fosters and maintains suitable conditions for its continuity. The personification of the energy that gives origin to forms and feeds them is essentially feminine[27]. Though motherhood and the power of fruitfulness have been transferred, later on, with the growth of agricultural cults, to Greek Demeter, Great Goddess of

vegetation and harvesting, a lot of procedures in ancient societies as well as in higher civilizations reveal the devotion to Mother Earth did not disappear at all: the custom of women's lying on the ground as soon as the pains of childbirth begin, and the association of the native soil with the image of the mother – the word "motherland" – are examples of this cosmic model.

Safe on the shore, Robinson Crusoe reflected "upon all my [his] Comrades that were drown'd, and that there should not be one Soul sav'd but my [him] self" (p. 35). Re-enacting the cosmological instant of "beginning", the youth would survive in the midst of the elements of nature - his foster-mother -, and would have a special part in this performance on the destiny of mankind. Unlike Moses and other mythical figures left to fate in a basket or box on a river or on the sea,[28] (von Franz, 1984), in mythologies of many societies, undesired children left on the ground, in "earth cradles", depended on mother-earth to decide if they should live or die. Protected by nature, the abandoned babies became heroes, kings or saints - Zeus, Poseidon, Dionysos, Perseus, Oedipus, Romulus and Remus and others (ELIADE, 1996).

As all mythological images, this one of the abandoned child fostered by nature refers to a plan of the consciousness – a field of experience – that exists potentially in the human psyche. Eliade (*op. cit.*) remarks that everything that comes from the earth is endowed with life, and everything that goes back into the earth is given new life ("Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked I will depart", says Job when he cannot stand the suffering of learning that his children are dead[29]). There is a connection between *homo* and *humus*: as ecology demonstrates with the food chain[30], human beings live because every living being returns to earth – the *Terra Mater*. The Latin term, as well as mythology ("for dust you are and to dust you will return"[31]), points out the affinity of the word mother with matter, thou etymologically they are not so close.

Indeed, *earth,* the element of the nature, has a principle imbedded, an aspect of the human nature: its materiality, discerned through the senses. Concerns of the "matter" imply not only the human body, but also what assures its survival, comfort, welfare, wealth, and social position. The realm of the matter is the only one known by the infant – what matters for him is to be fed and feel safe and comfortable. These wants were what first came to the mind of Robinson Crusoe soon after he felt grateful for being alive:

> I began to look round me to see what kind of Place I was in, and what was next to be done, and I soon found my Comforts abate, and that in a word I had a dreadful Deliverance: For I was wet, had no Clothes to shift me, nor any thing either to eat or drink to comfort me, neither did I see any Prospect before me, but that of perishing with Hunger, or being devour'd by wild beasts; an that which was particularly afflicting to me, was, that I had no Weapon either to hunt and kill any Creature for my Sustenance, or to defend my self against any other Creature that might desire to kill me for theirs (…). (p. 36)

As he would learn later, there were not dangerous wild animals in that place where he was – savage animals are symbols of destructive emotions, strong negative impulses (von Franz, 1984). According to Fox (1968), all animals express instincts, feelings, faculties, inclinations and powers of men/women – that is why Noah got every living creature to his ark, to save all aspects of the human nature when the great biblical Flood happened[32]. In dreams and fairy tales, the image of an animal fight is always interpreted as a conflict in the unconscious (von Franz, 1998). Crusoe did not know what or who he might find there, yet. But his was still a naïf, childish standpoint on the world – just as that of the man/woman at the primitive stage -, hence there was no synchronic existence of wild beasts.

Notwithstanding, his first concern, after searching for water to drink, was to identify a tree which could offer him shelter during the night. He slept there, on the branches of the tree, a kind of fir[33], as, in the view of 18th century, primitive human

beings had done. Actually, sleeping on the trees was something that the ancestry of human race did in the dawn of its adventure on earth. Conifers, as firs, are among the oldest species of plants on earth – they appeared 200 million years ago, during a glacial era, when other plants could not resist cold. At that time, a warm-blooded vertebrate evolved from reptiles, creating a new class of animals – the mammals - which would produce our ancestors, the primates. The first primates developed around 65 million years ago and lived on the trees, due to the fear of predators. This fact, which made some species develop forward-facing color binocular vision (both eyes used together), also useful for our ancestors (CAPRA, 1997), stored strong images in the human imaginary.

Perhaps because the plants produce life from substances of that which is dead – according to the mentioned food chain -, the tree, especially the old conifer is considered a symbol of life, and, like the earth, is related to motherhood in human's imaginary. Bachelard (2003a) refers the hollow trunk of a tree, which offers safety and maternal protection; von Franz (1985) points out the tree represents the inner process of developing human consciousness. The tree as a symbol connected with the process of knowledge and personal development is recurrent in several mythologies: we find the Norse Odin (Wotan) hanging for nine days and nights from a tree, Buddha achieving his enlightenment under a tree, and the crucifixion of Christ associated with the symbolic climbing of a "world tree" in shamanism, in search of mystic knowledge.

According to von Franz (1985), every time consciousness is in conflict with the inner process of development, the personality is "suspended from a tree", unwittingly tied in with the unconscious process from which it cannot escape. The Turkish myth of Attis and Cybele[34] tells us that one has always to accept the inner growth.

Nevertheless, whether symbol of life, center of the world, support of the universe, or with other meanings it has in different religious traditions, the tree represents the living cosmos, that is endlessly renewing itself (ELIADE, 1996). As the tree loses its leaves and regains them every year, it re-enacts what the whole cosmos does, permanently recreating itself. While an image of the cosmos – a microcosm -, the tree is conceived as well as the dwelling of the divinity. Archaic iconography also relates water and plants, showing that the image of the tree includes divine motherhood – it would mean creation at the moment it took place, the appearance of form, firmly established above the waters.

If we consider the abundance of images of the tree in our current Western culture[35], we cannot disregard that night Robinson Crusoe spent on a tree. Perhaps his transformation had not been at his consciousness before, but the fact is that, the day after, he got up from the fir bed in a different mood – his feelings were laid aside, and his thoughts were rational. When he saw the ship close to shore, brought by the winds, he decided to go there and look for provisions for his “subsistence”. He realized he and his sailors could have saved themselves had they not abandoned the ship. “(…) this forc’d Tears from my Eyes again, but as there was little Relief in that, I resolv’d, if possible, to get to the Ship, so I pull’d off my Clothes, for the Weather was hot to Extremity, and took the Water (…)” (p. 37).

Crusoe swam out to the wreck, built a raft and loaded it with food, clothes, barrels, tools, firearms, boards, canvas, and the like. During the next 11 days he would repeat the operation, pillaging the ship and bringing everything he thought it might be useful to shore, with the aid of the tides. The impulse to accumulate goods – material things - is typical of the earth principle. Indeed, after the second trip to the wreck, Crusoe realized, “I [he] had the biggest Maggazin of all Kinds now that ever

were laid up, I [he] believe[s], for one Man, but I [he] was not satisfy'd still" (p. 42). Soon he did not think on the shipwreck anymore, except for what he could take from the remains. He thought he ought to get everything that he could out of the ship. Later on he would say, "it was a great Pleasure to me to see all my Good in such Order, and especially to find my Stock of all Necessaries so great" (p. 51).

Finding money made him upset – "O Drug! (…) what art thou good for?" (p. 43) -, and he was not going to take the coins, but then changed his mind, wrapped them in a piece of canvas, and brought them away with him. All of what he called his "wealth" was on shore "very secure". According to Ian Watt (1996, p. 156), as mentioned in Chapter 2, those supplies provided the working capital which he could use to exploit the freehold land he had been given accidentally – "a miraculous gift of the means of production, rendered particularly fortunate by the death of all potential rivals". When the wreck was brought away by the winds, Crusoe did not care anymore about the ship. His "thoughts then were employ'd" on protecting him from "Savages, if any should appear, or wild Beasts" (p. 43). Safety was his concern since he first arrived with his raft on shore. The second night after the shipwreck, Crusoe had made a "kind of a hut" with chests and boards around him (p. 40).

The third night on land, however, he made a "little tent" with the sail and some poles, and "brought every Thing that I [he] knew would spoil, either with Rain or Sun, and I [he] piled all the empty Chests and Casks up in a Circle round the Tent, to fortify it from any sudden Attempt, either from Man or Beast" (p. 41). Rykwert (2003) points out three models of the primitive house – the tent, the cave and the hut. When the glacial era began, men/women were compelled to take refuge in caves. As civilization developed, and men/women started to create things – as pottery or weaving -, changing from a "natural" environment to an "artificial" (from artifact) one,

the tent, made of woven branches and twigs, became the primitive house. The first dwellings were precarious arrangements aligned with a rocky surface.

Defoe might have wanted to reproduce the evolution of the idea of a dwelling in the cultural history of mankind, but doubtlessly there were other reasons for his protagonist, whose heart had been that of an adventurer, to attribute so much value to the building of a dwelling, since a house means primarily “roots” fixed into the ground. First of all, it shows us again that the survivor Robinson Crusoe, “reborn” in the shipwreck, has become a different person. Bachelard (2003a) remarks that the house is nothing but a *sedes*[36], a seat. According to the philosopher, the dwelling is a “counter-universe”, representing the conscience of being sheltered. In fact, any space we dwell in gets the essence of a home through thought and remembrances – images which make the individual feel protected, as an animal in its lair (BACHELARD, 2003).

Several days later, Crusoe decided to move to a better place – he was too near the sea – and found a little plain on the side of a hill, a location he considered ideal for sheltering from dangerous animals and from the heat. He pitched his tent in front of the rock, which had a little hollow seeming the entrance of a cave. Then he drew a half circle before the assemblage, where he pitched two rows of sturdy stakes, making a strong fence with the rows he had brought from the ship: “and so I [he] was completely fenc’d in, and fortify’d, as I [he] thought, from all the World, and slept secure in the Night” (p. 45). Building a house, according to Eliade (1992), is always a ritual of remembrance of cosmogony – a new dwelling is a “new era”, a new conscience – the construction is a new organization of the world and of life.

Our home is our cosmos, our territory, and all superior animals in the evolutionary scale have the instinct – transmitted from the body of their mothers - of possession and defense of their territories (von Franz, 2005). According to the

description, it seems that Crusoe spent much more material, time and enthusiasm building the fence than the house. In this action again he repeats what primitive minds had done. Archaic societies conceived their space as a microcosm, which should be protected from external chaos. In this unknown space there were dangers – strangers, wild animals, demons. Eliade (1991) remarks that the defense of the cities – moats, walls, and labyrinths – began as magical defenses, to prevent the entrance of bad spirits. Crusoe himself would confess, "as it appear'd afterward, there was no need of all this Caution from the Enemies that I Apprehended Danger from" (*loc. cit.*).

Nevertheless, the fence, in this case, was the threshold of the habitation, a "passage" from one space (chaos) to another (cosmos), from one mode of being to another, from "heaven" to "earth". Probably not knowing why, Defoe made his protagonist behave in an archetypical way in that situation: "Into this Fence or Fortress, with infinite Labour, I carry'd all my Riches, all my Provisions, Ammunition and Stores" (*loc. cit.*). Von Franz (1985) explains that solitude gives life to what exists in the unconscious, which will be projected on material world, in a way that is extremely frightening. According to the psychologist, one protects him/herself from this by tracing a circle – forming a mandala[37] – around him/herself, often with his/her personal objects. When in an extreme situation, people need their belongings to feel protected. On the third night on the island Crusoe had already arranged chests and casks saved from the wreck around his tent. Later on, when building his "country-house", he would also make a hedge in form of a circle around the bower.

It took Crusoe almost one year to finish his dwelling place, once he did not have all the needed tools. Working hard everyday, he also made some furniture for his tent and opened a cave behind it, into the hill, to serve as a "cellar". It cost him "much Labour, and many Days, before all these Things were brought to Perfection" (p. 45).

His concerns about safety and comfort show how strong the matter principle influences a young consciousness and how important the material world was at that moment in the story, as in history. In fact, with the changes in the means of production, the development of manufacture, the increasing of trade, and the economic system laid basically on the individual, Economic theorists used the image of Crusoe to illustrate their idea of *Homo economicus*[38] (see Chapter 2). Watt (1964) stresses that the economic motive entails a devaluation of all other modes of thought, feeling and action.

Fox (1950) observes that the matter principle is the "pale horse" of the Apocalypse[39], whose rider was named Death, "and Hades was following close behind him. They were given power over one fourth of the earth to kill by sword, famine and plague, and by the wild beasts of the earth". Watt (*op. cit.*, p. 65) indeed ascribes all the problems raised by the novel to capitalism – the argument between Crusoe and his parents ("about the most advantageous course materially"), the lack of importance of personal and group relationships (e.g. sex viewed as a potential threat to the pursuit of economical ends[40]), and the like. Whether with capitalist orientation or just following a natural trend in what may be considered the infancy of mankind, the fact is that *Robinson Crusoe* makes a draft of the history of civilization until the novel was written.

The story – as Rousseau and educators have identified – presents a fictional register of the cultural steps of mankind. Even if with the aid of the tools saved from the wreck – and this fact may have been destined to give verisimilitude to the story -, Crusoe is reduced, in the beginning, to the state of gatherer, hunter or fisherman, like the first human beings from almost two million years before[41]. "Time and Necessity made me [him] a compleat natural Mechanick[42] soon after" (p. 53). Firstly, Crusoe

decided to make some baskets for transporting fruits, and as he had watched the basket-makers at work, when he was a boy, he knew the methods for doing that. Wicker-ware had been one of the first cultural productions of mankind, in Protoneolithic times[43]. Afterwards, also with “hard Labour and constant Application” (p. 78), he discovered the techniques of making earthenware – a craft of Basal Neolithic mankind[44] (CAMPBELL, 2000) – and supplied himself with pots and vessels that allowed him, for instance, to cook meat.

Neither a broth nor a stew, the lack of which he mentioned several times, yet, were so immensely desired as a piece of bread. Bread is the symbol of the essential food, that is, food for the spirit, of which actually Crusoe, representing mankind in this materialistic era, might have been longing for. His desire would be physically satisfied with the practice of agriculture – the culture of barley and rice -, in his third year as a castaway. He had to find the means of pounding the cereal and to discover how to bake the bread, since he had no oven. Soon his crops increased so much that he had to create a system of storage the grains. Fearing the impossibility of killing goats after his gun powder finished, Crusoe sat traps to get animals to tame. Pastoral practice and agriculture were the basic forms of economy of all civilizations. Crusoe went farther – he tamed his goats, made butter and cheese, improved tools, implements, storage vessels, and produced all things for his comfort at home, as he allowed himself to “call my [his] Tent and my [his] Cave” (p. 74).

4.3 Air – The intellect

Robinson Crusoe was proud of his deeds – in his imagination, more than once, he was a king, a landlord: “I descended a little on the Side of that delicious Vale, surveying it with a secret Kind of Pleasure (…) to think that this was all my own, that I

was King and Lord of all this Country indefeasibly, and had a Right of Possession" (p. 73). The value of the possession of land surpassed everything. Mentioning words of the Bible, he thought,

> I had neither the *Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eye, or the Pride of Life*[45]. I had nothing to covet; for I had all that I was now capable of enjoying: I was Lord of the whole Manor; or if I pleas'd, I might call my self King, or emperor over the whole Country which I had Possession of. (p. 94)

Crusoe had granted himself the "right of possession" by his act of consecrating that territory. According to Eliade (1987), archaic societies had rituals for taking possession of uninhabited lands, repeating the creation of the world – the cosmogonic moment in which the sacred manifested itself, transforming chaos into cosmos. Consecrating a territory was performed by means of building a fire altar, a ritual repetition of cosmogony, an updating of a primordial act, that is, creating the land anew. That religious behavior has continued until modern times. When European colonizers conquered territories, they took possession of them in the name of Jesus Christ; hence they consecrated the land by raising a cross (through Christ "old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new"[46]). In Defoe's novel, some days after the shipwreck, Crusoe also made a great wooden cross and set it up on the shore where he first landed.

The symbol of Christianity, however, brings along more than a repetition of a cosmogony, since in Judeo-Christian tradition the history of the creation of the world is a permit to exploit nature ("fill the earth and subdue it"[47]). The act of setting down a wooden cross sanctions the possession of the land – symbolically, it is the phallic object that penetrates earth, the domination of the virile power over the feminine principle. Actually, the feminine principle had been subdued since the Semites and

Indo-European peoples, who were shepherds, former hunters, invaded the territories of the Nile, Tigris, Euphrates rivers, and later on the Ganges (named after the Hindu goddess Ganga), from 4.000 b.C. onwards. In that area, where current Eastern and Western civilizations began, there was a flourishing agrarian society, in Neolithic (7.500-4.500 b.C.). It was the region of the Great Mother, the Goddess, who, as Demeter-Persephone[48], became a powerful figure in Mediterranean Hellenistic culture (CAMPBELL, 1990).

Those nomadic peoples brought their gods, who were warriors, and the Goddess, represented by feminine statuettes - the Paleolithic Venus -, made of stone, bones, ivory or ceramics, whose fragments have been found by archeologists near archaic cereal storehouses, lost her place. Consequently, in patriarchy, women became spoils of war: “As for the women, the children, the livestock and everything else in the city, you may take these as plunder for yourselves”, says the Mosaic Law[49]. In Defoe’s time, the patriarchal culture and men’s obsession with domination and control were exacerbated by the mechanistic worldview, which has become the ideology of capitalism: Francis Bacon advised “command over nature”,[50] and Descartes taught how to “render ourselves the lords and possessors of nature”[51]. Since then, nature and women have been considered men’s properties.

Women play inexpressive parts in *Robinson Crusoe*. The figure of Crusoe’s mother provides a testimony of feminine roles in the family and in the society of 18th century. Novak (2001) remarks that Defoe’s dialogues in *The Family Instructor*, mentioned in Chapter 1.4, expressed the unhappiness of women, victimized by powerlessness, which frequently led them into depression and even madness. This might explain why Defoe wrote that Robinson met his mother “at a time when I [he] thought her a little pleasanter than ordinary” (p. 6). Crusoe’s mother refused to speak

to his father on his behalf: “I [he] should never have it to say, that my [his] Mother was willing when my [his] Father was not” (p. 7). Submission, however, did not prevent the woman from telling the father about Crusoe’s intention of going to the sea.

Another woman appears in Defoe’s narrative, but although having an important function in Crusoe’s life – as a faithful adviser and keeper of his money -, she does not achieve the status of a character. We learn of “the English Captain’s widow”, the “Gentlewoman” (p. 28), his “Friend’s Widow” (p. 15) by Crusoe’s references. We do not know her name – he never mentioned it, as if it did not have any importance, although she had been his “Benefactor and faithful Steward” (p. 206). Another feminine figure would have still less consideration: his wife, whose existence, as well as his children’s, deserved exactly two lines of the text: “I marry’d, and that not either to my Disadvantage or Dissatisfaction, and had three Children, two Sons and one Daughter: But my Wife dying (…) (p. 219).

As Earle (1977) puts it, women were not expected to be individuals in the English world of Defoe. Unless they were widows, they were expected to spend their whole lives in subjection to a man – whether he be father, master or husband. A woman on her own was an anomaly, and had harsh treatment by the society. The subjected women had many duties, but few rights. Most of them worked hard in the household, but in Defoe’s lifetime a new type of woman appeared especially in London – wives and daughters of successful men of the middle station – the bourgeoisie -, who, together with the relatives of the gentry, did not work, because their husbands or fathers preferred to see them as a means of displaying their economic success. Nevertheless, Defoe did not seem to endorse the way women were viewed.

In an article on the education of women written in the year of the publication of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Defoe stated that “the capacities of women are supposed

to be greater, and their senses quicker than those of the men". He argued that hindering women "from being made wiser" was an inhuman costum, and remarked that it looked "as if we denied women the advantages of education, for fear they should vie with the men in their improvements..." Novak (2001) also registers that in *The Family Instructor*, the author presents a family quarrel in which husband and wife argue violently. The husband compares the wife to the moon that prevents the sun from shining, during an eclipse of the sun, and she rejoins that some men think that their wives receive their light only from them and refuse to acknowledge that wives indeed can eclipse their husbands.

Associated to the image of mother-earth, that gives birth and nurtures every living being, but also consumes their dead bodies, in synchronism with that other of the goddess of Agriculture (Demeter), whose daughter-seed (Persephone) has to "die" before germinating, the image of the woman might have been frightening men alongside the history of Western civilization. Campbell (2000) remarks that the sensations of separation from the mother's body, while in the process of birth, are imprinted in the child's mind associated with fancies of danger and destruction. In Brothers Grimm's story *Hansel and Gretel*, an apparentlty kind old woman seduces the children with a house made of candies in order to eat them. The feminine principle has drowned into the unconscious, and externally has opposing echoes in the Catholic Virgin Mary and the dangerous witches. Protestants, as Defoe, unlike Catholics, eliminated all positive aspects of the mother-archetype from the consciousness, as von Franz (1984) stresses, and also ferociously fought the dark aspects, in the figure of the witch[52], in the 16th century.

As the feminine principle has no representation in Protestantism, the feminine image is repressed, according to von Franz (1985), as a complex, which the

consciousness tries to avoid. In a time religious aspects motivated so many fights and persecutions, as mentioned in Chapter 1.4, fiction would not be disconnected from them. In addition, the image of the feminine aspect had still another psychological connotation, cited by Campbell (2000): like the witch of the story of Hansel and Gretel, women were associated with cannibals – there are ogresses in folklore of peoples all over the world.[53] The ogress and the cannibal witch appear in some primitive mythologies as another frightening image – the “toothed vagina" (*vagina dentata*), the classic symbol of men's fear of sex, expressing the unconscious belief that a woman may eat or castrate her partner during the intercourse[54].

The experience of the Great Mother/Goddess unavoidably leads to sacrifice, but with its primal meaning - turning something/someone sacred.[55] In Western myths, the sacrifice of the divine child is recurrent - the goddess sacrifices her children in order to renew life. In the rationalistic Western culture of 17th and 18th centuries, yet, death was always associated with the dark side of reality, as von Franz (1985) remarks. Before the existence of men on earth, no animal died from old age. In nature, when physical strength decays, the creature becomes a prey and is devoured by another wild animal. Members of the tribe who were too old for following the march of primitive nomads, in ancient world, also were abandoned to that kind of natural death.

For the primitive mind, being eaten, as well as to eat, was never just a physiological act, it was a sacrament, that is, a communion with the sacred, since nature was the sacred cosmos (ELIADE, 1987). Hence in those pagan festivals destined to celebrate harvesting, killing and devouring of sows and fruits symbolized eating the divine body, the same as what was professed by Christ in “the last supper” with his disciples[56], a ritual simbolically repeated to this day by Catholics and Protestants. Anthropophagy therefore was not a natural behavior of primitive men - it

was a cultural behavior, based on a religious vision of life. Ghastly as it may seem, it was a ritual, a repetition of a mythical event, destined to assure the continuation of the process of life, according to a divine model. Archaic men “ate the gods” as it happened *in illo tempore*. Theophagy was the religious basis of anthropophagy.

The rationalistic era, by annulling the mythical thought, sent the danger represented by women, which was associated with fear of the cannibal, to men’s imaginary. Since the very beginning of the story, Crusoe mentioned the “Danger of being devoured by Savages” (p. 32), and imagined he could be in the “Savage Coast” between the Spanish Country and “Brasils”, where there would be “Cannibals, or Men-eaters”, who “devour all the humane Bodies that fall into their Hands” (p. 80). Since the cannibal was discovered by Columbus[57], this figure was given several interpretations. According to Lestringant (1997), the first evangelists in the New World adopted the hypothesis of anthropophagy as a rite of revenge.

Yet, the narrative of Amerigo Vespucci on his trip to Brazil – *Mundus Novus* (New World), the authenticity of which has been brought into doubt – accused the Caribs from the Guyanas and the Tupinambás from Brazil of practicing divorce, incest and anthropophagy. Actually Vespucci would have said that the Indians in Brazil lived according to nature, with no law, and no faith. His letter was rewritten anonymously, turning it more sensationalist for publishing: the cannibal concentrated the most terrible crimes of mankind - incest, infanticide, anthropophagy. That legitimated Isabella of Castile’s decret of war against the Caribs, who were enslaved because the Spanish colonies needed workers. The consequences of that policy are denounced by Defoe in Crusoe’s comment upon the right of killing cannibals:

> (…) this would justify the Conduct of the Spaniards in all their Barbarities practis’d in America, where they destroy’d Millions of these People, who however they were Idolaters and Barbarians, and had several bloody and

> Barbarous Rites in their Customs, such as sacrificing human Bodies to their Idols, were yet, as to the Spaniards, very innocent People (…) (p. 124)

According to Crusoe, the acts of the Spaniards against the savages, “rooting them out of the Country”, were “a meer Butchery, a Bloody and unnatural Piece of Cruelty” (p. 125). He also mentioned that the brutality of the Spaniards in America “had been spread over the whole Countries, and was remember’d by all the Nations from Father to Son” (p. 156). All these humanist considerations did not exempt Crusoe from feeling indignation and horror, and the wish for revenge, first in thoughts (“I went so far with it in my Imagination” – p. 123), secondly when he saw “the Blood, the Bones, and part of the Flesh of humane Bodies, eaten and devour’d by those Wretches, with Merriment and Sport” (p. 133). Fear and anger led him to kill several natives, the first time releasing Friday, and later on Friday’s father and a Spanish sailor.

Before acting, Crusoe had thought about his inclinations for a long time, and decided not to “destroy some of these Monsters in their cruel bloody Entertainment”. Though, he learned, “O what ridiculous Resolution Men take, when possess’d with Fear”! It deprives them of the Use of those Means which Reason offers for their Relief” (p. 115). Reason led Defoe to misinterpret what lay behind cannibalism. Although the author himself made his character Friday grant that cannibals ate only enemies defeated in battle (“They no eat Mans but when makes the War fight” – p. 161), at the same time Defoe presented the least plausible motive for cannibalism: a favorite food. Crusoe reinforced this idea when he told, “in order to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the Relish of a Cannibal’s Stomach, I [he] ought to let him taste other Flesh” (p. 152). And when Friday was given meat of a goat, Crusoe made him promise “he would never eat Man’s flesh any more” (p. 154).

As Lestringant (1997) posits, to the mind of Europeans eager for conquests and riches, the image of the “other” was degraded, in order to subjugate him/her. Myth

had been erased by science and philosophy, and the colonizer projected on the primitive his “hunger” for profit and power. Fox (1950) explains that man/woman, when guided only by his/her intellect, is like the rider of the black horse, in *Apocalypse*, 6, “holding a pair of scales in his hand”, and saying, "A quart of wheat for a day's wages, and three quarts of barley for a day's wages, and do not damage the oil and the wine!" – that is, always concerned with provisions and costs. Nevertheless, we can always find echoes of mythical thought even in radically rationalistic behavior. Crusoe, for instance, as another imperative, of the Protestant creed, worries about forgetting the Sabbath – that is the reason for him to “cut every day a Notch” on the wooden cross settled on the shore, “and every seventh Notch (…) as long again as the rest, and every first Day of the Month as long again as that long one” (p. 48).

The Judeo-Christian Sabbath, as the Christian Eucharist, is also an *imitatio dei,* since it repeats the seventh day of Creation[58]. The imitation of the sacred events, in all pre-Mosaic religions, allowed men/women to live in the “original time”, the time of myths. Before the growing of rationality, mankind lived in a circular time, periodically recoverable in festivals,[59] that constituted the sacred calendar. The repetition of the acts of gods, especially the creation of the world (New Year’s celebrations), reiterated the cosmogony and also re-created time, and human beings, who re-started life with their energy recovered. The ancient concept of time was closer to that of current science: the year was a temporal dimension of the cosmos. “The world has passed” was the expression of the end of a year. The year-cosmos was permanently destructed and re-created, establishing a fundamental rhythm – the myth of the eternal return (ELIADE, 1987).

Yet, the conception of time lost definitely its cyclic characteristic when God incarnated and had a historically conditioned human existence, in Christianity. Time

became linear, irreversible, with duration, and leading inevitably to an end or death. The register of the passing of time was a great concern of Robinson Crusoe – "(…) it came into my Thoughts that I should lose my Reckoning of Time" (p. 48). This demonstrates how important the counting of time was in a age when the manufacture of clocks had a great development[60] and – not by chance – the clock apparatus was a model for other machinery and, philosophically, for all existence in the universe.

Time was also an essential category in defining the new form in fiction – the novel -, the prototype of which is *Robinson Crusoe*. Watt (1964) reminds us that Locke and Hume had viewed the memory of someone's past thoughts and actions as source of personal identity - the chain of causes and effects. Individuality required a particular *locus* in both dimensions, time and space, a characteristic which is reflected in the novel. Earlier literary tradition used timeless stories to talk about unchanging moral verities. The novel's plot presents past experiences as the cause of present action, as Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, the first literary work to present a historical process in an actual physical environment. This new outlook is endorsed by the first words of the novel – "I was born in the Year 1632, in the City of York" (p. 4), and is reiterated every time Crusoe registers an important event during his adventures. These elements contributed for the belief of most of Defoe's contemporaries that the work was the true account of a journey, not a fictitious one.

4.4 Fire – the spirit

The first evidence of the use of the fire was discovered in a cave in China, around 400,000 b.C., where the diggers found tools of stone, bones, cracked skulls, and fireplaces. The way the skulls had been opened revealed they had been

perforated, allowing their contents to be eaten raw. The cannibals who had left those remains were the Men of Beijing, contemporaries of the *Pithecanthropus erectus* from Java, still a man-ape. If those cannibals did not cook the brains they ate, what would have they used fire for? Campbell (2000) says it is possible that it was for providing heat, but probably fire had been used as a fetish. Around 200,000 years later, the Men of Neanderthal worshiped fire as a divinity. Since then, it has been related to the realm of the spirit.

Also associated, in human's imagination, with love and sex, once it may be produced by friction of two bodies (BACHELARD, 1999), the fire appears in Western mythology and religion as a sacred agent of transformation. Among the Greeks, the titan Prometheus stole the fire from the gods, in Olympus, in order to warm mankind, created by him. The Jewish God appeared to Moses as a burning bush ("Mount Sinai was covered with smoke, because the Lord descended on it in fire")[61]. Prophet Elijah ascended into heaven in a fiery chariot[62], and King Nebuchadnezzar, who had thrown the three jews who refused to worship an image of gold into a blazing furnace, said: "Look! I see four men walking around in the fire, unbound and unharmed, and the fourth looks like a son of the gods"[63]. In Christianity, fire is associated with the Holy Ghost, but is equally used in descriptions of Hell. Nevertheless, as an instrument of the demiurge and of the demon as well, fire has always the quality of purification, even when it burns and destroys something.

Robinson Crusoe did not seem to have problems in lighting a fire, when he arrived on shore, he just "found it absolutely necessary to provide a Place to make a Fire in" (p. 46), and later on he even improvised an oven that allowed him to bake his bread. The lack Crusoe felt so intensely was of the underlying principle of fire – as the tragic Oedipus, when he had to kill the parental image inside his mind, in order to

grow up, he killed the “wrong” father. Though he did not know it, he killed the real one, the divinity, oneness (the wholeness of personality). The rationalistic era promoted by the classical science exacerbated the mythical dissociation of matter and spirit into two units. Disconnectedness from wholeness was the loss of Paradise (the Fall, in the Judeo-Christian tradition). Leaving infancy, men/women come to the upright position and can look at the sky above or at the earth below, and it is always necessary to choose one or the other pole – high/low, good/evil, right/wrong.

As polarity was the rule, Crusoe made a list of bad and good circumstances. As “evil”, he listed: being cast upon “a horrible desolate Island”, “separated from all the World”, and “divided from Mankind”; having no clothes, no defense against “any Violence of Man and Beast”, and no people to speak to. As “good”, he pointed out that he was alive when all his mates had drowned; he was not starving; he was in a hot climate, he had not seen wild beasts, and he had got “many necessary things” from the wreck (pp. 49-50). Having accepted the situation, Crusoe decided “to make things as easy to me as I could” (*loc. cit.*). These enthusiastic thoughts, however, were alternated with an opposing feeling, prognosticated by himself in the first day after the shipwreck: “I saw my Fate to my great Affliction, (*viz.*) that I was in an Island environ’d every Way with the Sea” (p. 40).

As director Luis Buñuel (1952) emphatically shows in his version of Defoe’s novel on the screen (*see* Chapter 1.3), “the Island was certainly a Prison to me [him]” (p. 71). It is possible to imagine how complete solitude and the impossibility of returning home can make someone feel confined even in an open wide space – a paradox that would function as a metaphor for Defoe’s circumstances of life, as he insinuated in his *Serious Reflexions*, mentioned in Chapter 1. Nevertheless, it is probable that the mind of Crusoe’s creator had been trapped by the ideas on

insularity of his time – *islomania*[64], as Gillis (2004) calls them. Let us remember the course of the thoughts of the protagonist/narrator:

> Before, as I walk'd about, either on my Hunting, or for viewing the Country; the Anguish of my Soul at my Condition, would break out upon me on a sudden, and my very Heart would die within me, to think of the Woods, the Mountains, the Deserts I was in; and how I was a Prisoner, lock'd up with the Eternal Bars and Bolts of the Ocean, in an uninhabited Wilderness, without Redemptions (…) (p. 83)

Although the Western world was in the mid of the so-called scientific revolution[65], and already knew that the earth was round, and that the solar system was heliocentric, geography was still predominantly mythical in the 17th century. Gillis (*op. cit.*) asserts that the image of islands evokes a great range of emotions – desires and fears – and has so much power in our imagination due to the Western cosmogony, in which water stands for chaos, land for order, and islands partake both, they are betwixt and between them. As liminal places, they are frequently location of rites of passage. The first images we have imprinted in our imaginary are those which resulted from the lack of knowledge about the physical geography - the sea and the lands: the mythical geography transmitted by Homer. The Greeks saw themselves inhabiting an earth island completely surrounded by watery chaos. As the sea was a void, the Greeks projected all they found disturbing beyond their shores, and "island" was a pattern for everything that was ordered. City-states were described as "islands on dry land" and Greece itself was viewed as insular.

The world medieval men/women inherited from the Greeks was centered on an earth island – *Orbis Terrarum* -, surrounded by the river *Oceanus*. Ancient men/women believed the earth to be a single undivided island. *Oceanus* was the edge of the known world, therefore, crossing water was associated with entering other worlds. The

islomania, however, according to Gillis (2004), had begun much earlier. As it is necessary to define space in order to turn it a home, the Western culture has "islanded" reality since Neolithic times: the first houses were grouped in circles, forming an ordered whole, as an island. So did subsequent settlements in history, during Roman Empire and the Middle Ages. Projecting chaos beyond the edges of their territory, in their imagined insularity, ancient as well as medieval people felt safe, but this did not prevent them from making mental voyages into the unknown. When the Mediterranean was colonized, it was the Western Sea that defied European's imagination.

The association of islands and mystery became so strong that until the 18th century any unexplored place was imagined as an island, which medieval cosmographers called *iland, ysland* or *insula*. Gillis (*op. cit.*) states that names like "Isle of Avalon" were applied to inland areas. Also the idea of the "desert island", which still nowadays is so strong in the Western imaginary (*see* Chapter 1.3 on *Robinsonades*), has mythologic origins. Ancient Hebrews associated the emptiness of the desert with holiness. Sacred geography related desert with wilderness – prior to the 19th century, wilderness was a spiritual, not a physical condition. In the Christian tradition, wilderness was a place of Satanic temptation as well as divine revelation – the ideal location for Robinson Crusoe.

Even in the 15th and 16th centuries, the European Age of Discovery was founded on fantastic ideas, as people did not know yet what lay "beyond the edge of the world". As they believed in Biblical taught, theirs was a finite world that contained all that ever could be known, hence they had no concept of discovery. Exploration was supposed to "reveal" an old truth, rather than find something new. Gillis (2004) grants that medieval and Renaissance enterprises, as Columbus's, were not scientific explorations, but spiritual adventures. It is the author's opinion that more than

expanding the size of the known world, discoveries increased the realm of the unknown, the greatest effect of which was on the European imagination. As they brought the notion of continents, discoveries gave new meanings to islands – those of paradise and utopia.

Judeo-Christian tradition developed the idea that the sea was the primordial chaos from which God had brought forth the earth. The Garden of Eden, lost for Adam and Eve since their disobedience towards God, continued to exist, as an island, surrounded by physical barriers that made it inaccessible to fallen mankind. According to biblical geography, still predominant in 17th century, the Flood brought danger, death and destruction to earth. Gillis (*op. cit*, p. 11) quotes George Owen, who wrote in 1603 that the biblical flood had torn ”the erthe in peeces and separated the Illands from the Contynent, and made the hilles and vallies as we now finde theme”. The Garden of Eden, which used to be considered a real location, ultimately lost its place – as an island – in *mappaemundi*. Yet, still nowadays, each tropical island seems to fit the description of paradise – we even call them “paradisiacal islands”.

As every human being – and all civilizations - at a particular stage in life, having lost paradise, isolated from wholeness, living on earth (materialized), Crusoe missed the other pole, the heaven (the spirit). Hence “islanded” on his own within his “Island of Despair”, as he first named his place, he felt lonesome. Even if sometimes he found some relief in praying, thinking it was possible to “be more happy in this Solitary Condition, than I [he] should have been in a Liberty of Society” (p. 82), there were times solitude led him to total desolation, so that he gave a second name to his territory: “Island of Solitariness” (p. 141). Visiting the wreck of another ship drowned near the island, with the hope of finding someone alive, renewed the lack of companionship:

> I cannot explain by any possible Energy of Words what a strange longing or hankering of Desires I felt in my Soul upon this Sight; breaking out sometimes thus; O that there had been but one or two; nay, or but one Soul sav'd out of this Ship, to have escap'd to me, that I might but have had one Companion, one Fellow-Creature to have spoken to me, and to have convers'd with! In all the Time of my solitary Life, I never felt so earnest, so strong a Desire after the Society of my Fellow-Creatures, or so deep a Regret at the want of it. (…) *O that it had been but One!* (p. 136)

The inner journey, as psychoanalysis and religion tell us, is performed via a solitary path. Solitude means being apart from other people, as well as being in total intimacy with our selves. Von Franz (1985) explains that there is an innate tendency in the human being of finding its unity, its center, in a process that Jung called "individuation". This process – the harmonization of the consciousness with its own interior center, the *self* (the archetype of divinity) - generates great suffering. Hollis (1997) remarks that the hero has to endure the burden of solitude and guilt. Robinson Crusoe felt his vicissitudes most deeply when he got physically ill, shivering with fever – "Difficulties to struggle with, too great even for Nature itself to support, and no Assistance, no Help, no Comfort, no Advice" (p.67). Thus for the first time he prayed, asking for God's mercy.

Recovered from sickness, Crusoe began reading the Bible twice a day, with the conviction that he needed, above all, to be delivered from guilt, as he believed "Deliverance from Sin a much greater Blessing than Deliverance from Affliction" (p. 71). Guilty for having opposed his father, "not being satisfy'd with the Station wherein God and Nature has plac'd" him (p. 141), tormented Crusoe throughout his stay on the island, a circumstance that he viewed as his penitence for his "original sin". Like Adam and Eve, after they had disobeyed God,[66] Robinson Crusoe "could not go quite naked (…), "tho' I was all alone" (p. 98). When his clothes decayed, he thought he would not bear the heat of the sun, and made a high cap, a jacket and pants of goat's skins. Von Franz (2005) says that in fairy tales animals' skins always symbolize a not-redeemed nature.

Indeed it is probably that Crusoe felt like a scapegoat[67], the goat that was sent to the desert, in ancient Hebrew and Babylonian ceremonies, taking away all the sins, diseases and demons of the people (ELIADE, 1992). Our ancestors considered the goat, as Dethlefsen (1989) reminds us, the expression of the demoniac side of the human being – vide the *tragikos choros* (choir of goats), from *tragos* (goat), in Greek tragedy. If Robinson Crusoe symbolizes the individual as well as society and mankind, it is possible to extend the reading of expiation of the sins to a role similar to that of Jesus Christ, who died for the redemption of the sins of men/women, according to Christianity. Campbell (1990) explains that the death of Christ allowed mankind to recover Paradise because he showed that "the Father and I are one"[68] – the way to retrieve totality.

Actually, as Dethlefsen (1993) puts it, the "original sin" is the sin of being born, "falling" into polarity: man/woman is separated from totality, becomes a "subject", him/herself an opposition to everybody/thing that is not that "subject". Human beings are sinners because they have egos, apart from wholeness. Sin is part of the human condition, as the psychologist stresses, because in a condition of duality - every decision, every action, every thought is always half the truth. Yet, man/woman does not know there is the other side of the coin. At the time *Robinson Crusoe* was written, religion prevented man/woman from facing his/her inner "otherness" - probably considered a demoniac side, because it comprises repressed problematic aspects of the human nature, as the feelings of anger and hatred, or sexuality.

Synchronically, European people barely had learned there were creatures physically similar to them, though of darker skin, at the other side of the ocean. The unknown is always a threat to us, and the European feared the "other", whose image was painted as that of a "savage", a "cannibal", actually a projection of the "white" man's shadow. According to Junguian psychology, the shadow is the part of the

psyche with qualities and attributes still unknown by the ego, and also those aspects of our personality which we do not accept in ourselves. Jung (1965) says that the less incorporated to the life of the individual, the more the shadow is “dark and dense”. Von Franz (1984) states that white people often project their primitive impulses, archaic forces and instincts not admitted in themselves, on dark-skinned people, as Negroes are an archetypical image of “primitive creature”.

The shadow appears only when something is enlightened. When Crusoe found a “Print of a Man’s naked Foot on the shore” (p. 112), in the 15th year of his stay on the island, his life changed completely. Crusoe/the ego learned he was not alone, but he did not know who else was on the island. Crusoe/the ego feared not to be in command of his territory anymore. Religious tradition had emphasized the division good-evil, and the necessity of behaving well. That had been straightly followed by Robinson Crusoe since his “conversion”, that is, since he discovered the comfort of the “words of God”. He had repented, read the Bible twice a day, prayed, and he did not work on Sabbath days. Why had God allowed something bad to happen to him? “Show me where I have been wrong”[69] are the words of Job, according to the Bible.

“Thus my Fear banish’d all my religious Hope; all that former Confidence in God which was founded upon such wonderful Experience as I had had of his Goodness, now vanished” (p. 113), told Crusoe. After delusion, he starts the quarrel with his ‘otherness” - a strong conflict between oppositions, consciousness versus unconscious, in which Crusoe identified the contradictions human beings usually live by. He was astonished: “How strange a Chequer-Work of Providence is the Life of Man! And by what secret different Springs are the Affections hurry’d about as differing Circumstances present! (*loc. cit.*) And he questioned,

> To Day we love what to Morrow we hate; to Day we seek what to Morrow we shun; to Day we desire what to Morrow we fear; nay even tremble at the Apprehensions of; this was exemplify'd in me at this Time in the most lively Manner imaginable; for I whose only Affliction was, that I seem'd banished from human Society, that I was alone, circumscrib'd by the boundless Ocean, cut off from Mankind, and condemn'd to what I call'd silent Life; (…) I say, that I should now tremble at the very Apprehensions of seeing a Man, and was ready to sink into the Ground at but the Shadow or silent Appearance of a Man's having set his Foot in the Island." (pp. 113-4)

Fear, "ten thousand Times more terrifying than Danger itself" (p. 116), made him build a second wall around his house, but neither the fortification nor the support of religion could lessen his "Apprehensions", "Uneasinesses", "Discomposure of Mind", due to the "Dread and Terror of falling into the Hand of Savages and Canibals" (pp.118-9). As human beings are guilty and have to confront their shadows and surpass their egos, in order to return to wholeness – that will surely imply great suffering. The horror increased when he found "Skulls, Hands, Feet, and other Bones of humane Bodies" spread on the shore. He was then convinced that the footprint he had seen on the sand "was not such a strange Thing in the Island as I [he] imagin'd" (p. 119). Indignation made him obsessed with thoughts of revenge and killed his inventiveness (he abandoned a project of producing beer): "for Night and Day, I could think of nothing but how I might destroy some of these Monsters in their cruel bloody Entertainment" (p. 122).

Soon his thoughts took another direction. He started to consider the opposing standpoint – that of the native men. Perhaps they were not murders – "They think it no more a Crime to kill a Captive taken in War, than we do to kill an Ox; nor to eat humane Flesh, than we do to eat Mutton" (p. 124) -, and should not be judged by him. The conflict led Crusoe to realize "the merciful Dispositions of Heaven, in the Dangers we run through in this life" (p. 127*)*. Surprisingly for a man of that time, entering the era of reason (The Enlightenment), Crusoe (and here surely the voice of Defoe) discovered the power of intuition: "when we are in a Doubt or Hesitation, whether to go

this Way, or that Way; a secret Hint shall direct us this Way, when we intended to go that Way" (*loc. cit.*). Only with the failure of the ego man/woman can surpass the tension of polarity, dissolving conflict, reaching another level of reality (the included T).

Crusoe took a decision: "whenever I found those secret Hints, or pressings of my Mind, to doing, or not to doing any Thing that presented: or to going this Way, or that Way", he would always "obey the secret Dictate" (*loc. cit.*). And he also acquired what Dethlefsen; Dahlke (2000) call the pendular perception – the motion of our inner vision which allows apprehension of both poles of every truth. When he had been on the island for 23 years, Crusoe realized evil could lead to salvation.

> How frequently in the Course of our Lives, the Evil which in it self we seek most to shun, and which when we are fallen into it, is the most dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very Means or Door of our Deliverance, by which alone we can be rais'd again from the Affliction we are fallen into. (p. 131)

As Crusoe quieted his soul, he gave more attention to his safety, and instead of lighting a fire he produced coal, under the turf, so as not to make smoke in his house, what could call the attention of native men. While he was cutting down some wood, Crusoe discovered a cave, but when he entered there he saw "two broad shining Eyes of some Creature, whether Devil or Man" (p. 128). When he recovered from the shock, he thought, "there was nothing in this Cave that was more frightful than my [him] self" (*loc. cit.*), as if he knew what psychology tells us nowadays – your enemy is within yourself. The next day he came back to the cave with some candles, and discovered an old he-goat lying on the ground, gasping for life. As he went into the cave, he entered another place which was so low that he had to creep on his hands and knees to go into it. Behind that place, however, there was another one, where the roof was high, and the sight was "glorious" (p. 129).

Crusoe's description of that sight emphasized: "The Walls reflected 100 thousand Lights to me from my two Candles; what is was in the Rock, whether Diamonds or any other precious Stones, or Gold, which I rather suppos'd it to be, I knew not" (*loc. cit.*). Indeed there must have been diamonds that reflected the light of the candles. Diamonds and gold are symbols of the *lapis philosophorum*, or the product of the *opus alchymicum,* the philosopher's stone. The alchemical work reproduced synchronically in physical matter the process of the psyche of confronting oppositions, in order to reach the experience of totality. According to von Franz (1984), diamonds are extremely bright and hard, they symbolize what is indestructible in human nature: the spirit. When Crusoe entered the cave, he performed symbolically another *regressus ad uterum*, and in another stage of his personal development, met the brightest part of himself. The old goat at the entrance of the cave – the image of his sin – had died.

Robinson Crusoe experienced a change in his mind and felt self-confident: "I fancy'd my self now like one of the ancient Giants, which are said to live in Caves, and Holes, in the Rocks, where none could come at them" (p. 130). Half-god, half-man in mythology, the giant is a symbol of great emotion experienced by someone when an archetypical content approaches the consciousness (VON FRANZ, 1985). Robinson Crusoe did not know, but he was ready to have what he had longed for so much. His parrot would not shout "poor Robin Crusoe" (p. 104) anymore – in fairy tales, parrots interpret the voice of unconscious (VON FRANZ, 1984). Crusoe's unconscious had another message to him, and would talk by means of a dream – not a dream like that he had when he arrived on the island.

That time he had dreamed that a man, in a great black cloud, had threatened him: "Seeing all these Things have not brought thee to Repentance, now thou shalt

die!" (p. 65). As von Franz (1984) ponders, psychologically death would mean total repression of the contents of the mind. The second dream that Crusoe registered would express exactly the opposite – it showed the arriving of "eleven Savages" with the intention of killing and eating another one, who would be saved by Crusoe, and made his servant. Jung (1978) asserts that dreams may announce certain situations long before they happen, because many crises in our lives have a long history which is perceived by the unconscious more accurately than by our consciousness. Hence the unconscious passes the information on through dreams.

The dream gave Crusoe an idea: a native man could show him the way to reach "the main Land", and he decided "to get one of those Savages into my [his] Hands, cost what it would" (p. 145). That would become possible only one year and a half later. One day he saw five canoes on shore on his side of the island. As he could not see the men who had come, and estimated there were twenty or thirty of them, his first reaction was to stay in his house. But he prepared himself for action and went to the top of the hill to observe them. He saw two "miserable Wretches dragg'd from the Boats", (…) brought out for the Slaughter" (p.146). While one of them was being cut, the other ran away, and Crusoe thought, "now was my [his] Time to get me [him] a Servant, and perhaps a Companion, or Assistant" (*loc. cit.*).

Crusoe killed two men who pursued the fugitive, and made "Signs of Encouragement" to the youth who had been saved. "He came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every Ten or Twelve steps in token of acknowledgement for my saving his Life", told Crusoe. And when he was close to his savior, "he kneel'd down again, kiss'd the Ground, and laid his Head upon the Ground, and taking me [him] by the Foot, set my [Crusoe's] Foot upon his Head" (p. 147). Setting the foot on someone's head means to conquer someone, it is a classical manifestation of power, as von Franz

(1985a) reminds us. Fox (1968) remarks that the gesture means subjugation but of new contents that come from the unconscious, as the apocalyptical “woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet”[70], an image that symbolizes that the soul (woman) masters the unconscious (moon).

Robinson Crusoe interpreted the action of the native as a pledge of loyalty, as if he was “swearing to be my [his] Slave for ever” (p. 147), and indeed they would spend a long time together, once the “law of resonance”, as Dethlefsen (1989) refers to the Junguian concept of synchronicity – the connection between the personal psyche and the material world -, makes one contact exactly what vibrates as oneself. In fact, the exterior world that we experiment is identical to our interior world that we do not accept. While in solitude, as Robinson Crusoe lived in his island, it is impossible for someone to face his/her shadow, because an “other” is always necessary to serve as a mirror for our own “otherness”. Von Franz (2005) asserts the individual becomes real only when he projects his shadow on someone else, otherwise he believes he is just what he thinks he is.

This might be the reason why Robinson Crusoe called the native “Friday”, the name of the sixth day of the week – it “was the Day I [he] sav’d his Life”. Crusoe thought he “call’d him so for the Memory of the Time” (p. 149). Would it not be an *imitatio Dei* – the renewal of the paradigmatic creation of the human being by Judeo-Christian God? As we read in the Bible, it was on the sixth day of creation that “God created man in his own image”.[71] Doubtlessly Crusoe was a new man, when he viewed that native as “a comely handsome Fellow, perfectly well made; with straight strong Limbs, not too large; tall and well shap’d”. How different this picture is from those that present the natives as “monsters” and “devils”. To Crusoe’s amazement, Friday “seem’d

to have something very manly in his Face", though "he had all the Sweetness and Softness of an European in his Countenance too, especially when he smil'd" (p. 148).

Jung (1965) remarks that the shadow is not only the dark underside of the personality. It also consists of instincts, abilities and positive moral qualities that have long been buried or never been conscious. Robinson Crusoe gave the native bread and milk, taught him to say "yes" and "no" in English, and made him some clothes – pants and a jacket of goat skin, similar to his. He estimated the youth was about 26 years old - Friday had been born when the young Crusoe, around that age, came to the island, "reborn" after the shipwreck. Crusoe wanted Friday to call him "Master", but soon acknowledged "never Man had a more faithful, loving, sincere Servant, than Friday was to me [him]; (…) his very Affections were ty'd to me [him], like those of a Child to a Father" (p. 151). Jung (1965) says the process of dealing with the Other in us is worthwhile, in order to know aspects of our nature which we would not allow anybody else to show us and which we ourselves would never have admitted.

Crusoe had someone to talk with, a mate with whom divide the work. He did not fear the "savages" anymore, he acquired serenity: "This was the pleasantest Year of all the Life I led in this Place", he told (p. 154). As he believed Friday was a pagan and needed to be "saved", Crusoe started teaching him his religion. The knowledge of his own myths, however, led Friday to argue Crusoe on aspects he had never thought about ("after all, tho' I [he] was now an old Man, yet I was but a young Doctor [teacher]"): "if God much strong, much might as the Devil, why God no kill the Devil, so make him no more do wicked?" (p. 158) As Crusoe read the Scriptures and explained them to Friday, he also acquired a better understanding about the content of the Bible.

> I took for this poor Creature's Instruction, and must acknowledge what I believe all that act upon the same Principle will find, That in laying Things open to him, I really inform'd and instructed myself in many Things, that either

> I did not know, or had not fully consider'd before; but which occurr'd naturally to my Mind, upon my searching into them (…). (p. 159)

Crusoe and his Man Friday interchanged also knowledge about sailing, while preparing a boat that could take them away from the island. "The Conversation which employ'd the Hours between Friday and I, was such, as made the three Years which we liv'd there together perfectly and completely happy", told Crusoe (p. 159). They lived in peace untill native men returned to the island for another ceremony. This time Crusoe was self-confident, he had no fear – "for as they were naked, unarm'd Wretches, 'tis certain I was superior to them" (p. 167). He was like the apocalyptical rider of the white horse, who "held a bow, and was given a crown, and he rode out as a conqueror bent on conquest"[72]. He and his man shot at the natives with the muskets, killed three of them and wounded several others, freeing the two captives, a Spaniard and an Indian, coincidentally Friday's father.

The island "was now peopled", and Crusoe felt like a king: "the whole Country was my own meer Property; so that I had an undoubted Right of Dominion". He also thought his "people were perfectly subjected: I [he] was absolute Lord and Lawgiver". And eventually, the three Subjects were of three different Religions: "My Man Friday was a Protestant, his Father was a Pagan and a Cannibal, and the Spaniard was a Papist". However, I [he] allowed Liberty of Conscience throughout my [his] Dominions" (p. 174). They formed now a quaternary**,** an image with a fourfold structure, which psychologically points to the idea of wholeness. According to Jung (1978), the quaternary is one of the archetypes that represent the arrangement of the functions by which the conscious mind guides its behavior. Robinson Crusoe was nearly ready to leave the island.

CONCLUSION

A view of what emerged from the present study on *Robinson Crusoe* brings to my mind that popular saying ascribed to American writer Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), “What you are speaks so loudly that I cannot hear what you say”. Indeed, the effect of *Robinson Crusoe* on the readers has been far more impressive than it seems when people are reading the book. Its contributions to the English language (with expressions like *robinsonade* and *man/girl Friday* integrated in the vocabulary of English speakers), more than the amount of imitations, parodies and satires that still nowadays appear in literature, on stage and on the screens, attest the significance of Defoe’s novel.

The author, though despised and underestimated by some critics who find him controversial, as to his personal and political attitudes, is cited as source by respectable historians like Earle (1977), Porter (1991) and Mumford (1998), the last one a specialist in architecture and urbanism. *Robinson Crusoe* is a comprehensive work. Though not openly symbolic, from its very beginning the novel is pervaded by symbols, which defy first our feelings, then our thoughts. Those hidden meanings of Crusoe’s adventures probably drive us to primordial images stored in our unconscious. There, as we could learn by reading what the chosen guiding authors teach, we meet our ancestry and our wholeness, which we have longed for since we were born. This is probably the aspect of *Robinson Crusoe* that has maintained the readers’ interest captive for so long.

Symbolic elements, which turn the novel similar to the narratives of fairy tales, are probably also the reason why Robinson Crusoe has become an icon of the castaway living in solitude on a desert island. The visual image we compound in our

minds through the descriptions of Defoe, the figure of the man oddly dressed up with pants, jacket and cap made of goatskins, is as lively as that of Little Red Riding Hood. It is quite possible that the reader may not explain the impact it causes. It may push our minds to experiences of our ancestors, which have shaped our imaginary, and we feel an impulse to fantasize, without having this consciously explained. Sometimes the symbol is quite apparent: complements of the image, as much as clothes, are related to the *persona* adopted, and the large umbrella always held together with the musket – each in one hand – tells us about Crusoe's feelings.

He never leaves the weapon at home when he goes out – he needs it in order to defend himself from "wild beasts" and "cannibals". Also he never abdicates the comfort his umbrella offers in protecting him from the sun. The interesting fact is that the sun - the star -, in mythology is related with the ancient Celtic god *Luth*, meaning Lucifer (the Angel of Light). As Robinson Crusoe is a "son" of Protestantism, which fought the fallen angel ferociously, it is possible that the large umbrella actually represents a protection against the temptations of the Devil, a hidden meaning that can be identified by the unconscious, but obviously says nothing directly to the minds of the readers. Children, however, have the special capacity to apprehend those contents, as they do not have their minds so much polarized yet.

Rousseau and the eighteenth-century German pedagogues were right, in my opinion, to suggest the adoption of *Robinson Crusoe* as a book for children, and the best justification for this idea would be that of Coleridge, written in his copy, "You become a man while you read" (*see* Chapter 2). This assertion means *Robinson Crusoe*, though a novel, did not talk only of particulars, as Watt and other critics/scholars say. Novels give a face and a name to the protagonist, situate him/her in time and space, but do not erase mythical contents from his/her deeds, just hide

them from the reader. Jung, Eliade, Campbell, Bachelard – our masters in the subject "imaginary" – give honor to literature precisely for sheltering and maintaining myths alive, through times of exacerbated rationalism.

To Watt, Robinson Crusoe, as Faust, Don Juan and Don Quixote, is a myth of the Modern Age, according to his definition of *myth* as "a traditional story exceptionally widely known throughout the culture, that is credited with a historical or quasi-historical belief, and that embodies or symbolizes some of the most basic values of a society" (1996). Indeed, it is a cultural myth, an allegory of the individualism Protestant doctrine and capitalism led the man/woman to. Nevertheless, since I have identified symbols in the novel which enabled the establishment of patterns found in more than one level of reading, I have to remember that I anchored my study in the works of authors that regard *myth* as a sacred history (*see* Chapter 3), exemplary of all human experience, and therefore with analogous processes in the unconscious of men/women.

The great interpretations of notable critics and scholars really fit all the aspects of the story into which Defoe sewed scraps of old books of voyages, religion, and utopias, as if a patchwork, in a frame of autobiographical memoirs of shipwrecked sailors. *Robinson Crusoe* is certainly a report on our civilization's archetype – the *Homo economicus* -, on a youth's conversion to religion, and on the colonization of new territories. All this inevitably happens, because all this metaphorically integrates the *self*'s path. And the story Robinson Crusoe tells us is about the journey of the human being in search of his/her wholeness, the paradise lost. Paradoxically, the story of the individual is the story of its completeness.

As an individual (from Latin, *individuus*, indivisible, inseparable), one is not only responsible for his/her social, political, economic, religious roles in communal life. An

individual is the one who does not conceive him/herself apart from the “other”, be it inside or outside him/herself. An individual is a human being who integrated the whole personality, consciousness and unconscious, and, by accepting his/her own alterity, honors the diversity in nature and in culture, mainly because he/she knows the face of the Other is his/her own mirrored image. Defoe talks about such things from a *locus* completely isolated from that of the radical rationalism that was being established in Europe – his authorship itself has the island as a metaphor.

Incidentally, the image of islands, at his time, also not only suited exploitation and colonization, but above all nourished men/women’s imagination, as it does still today. Half the entries – over 1,200 - in *The Dictionary of Imaginary Places* (MANGUEL; GUADALUPI, 1999) refer to islands. Accordingly, it is possible to realize *Robinson Crusoe* is not the genesis of such a strong image related to the uninhabited island we find in so many works of literature, on the screen, in cartoons and other media. Islands were already designed in Defoe’s and his contemporaries’ imaginary – a legacy from ancient Greece, as it was demonstrated in Chapter 4. Yet, the island Defoe bequeathed to his readers was given a different dimension.

Rather then a cosmos, a threshold or paradise, the Island of Despair/Solitude of Robinson Crusoe has manifold meanings: it is a geographic territory where the economic and political processes of our civilization are demonstrated; it is also the scenery where spiritual conflicts lead to religious “repentance” and “search for salvation”; it is a mythic landscape, and it becomes the *loci* from where the protagonist, in his changing identities – one at a time -, speaks. First, he feels a “lord” of land (nature); at the end, he is a “lord” of men – “others”, forming with them a quaternary, which means he has become a master of his consciousness. In order to demonstrate how the human personality evolves, Defoe curiously does what

scientific methodology recommends: metaphorically, separates a piece of the whole for studying it, as Rooper (1903) remarks.

Crusoe's arrival on the island is a rebirth, after the separation from his parents, with a passage through the ship/womb. In this phase, analogous to childhood/youth, the ego relates with mother-nature, which moulds its identity dependent of materiality. As an adult, Crusoe/the ego looks at the exterior world, in a polarized way. That makes him feel guilty, extremely solitary and exceptionally frightened. Because he does not know the hidden aspects of his personality, and as he unwittingly projects them on the "others" – native men from also unknown geographical territories -, Crusoe fears the "cannibals". Then the castaway starts to consider those men who eat his equals might be innocent, as their cultural habits are different from his own. Finally, Crusoe comes to the conclusion that he cannot judge the natives.

In fact, he unveils what Christ had said in one of his teachings: "Do not judge, or you too will be judged. For in the same way you judge others, you will be judged, and with the measure you use, it will be measured to you (Matthew, 7:1-2). Robinson Crusoe understands that he and the "other" are one and the same. In another passage, Christ had warned his audience: "As you are going with your adversary to the magistrate, try hard to be reconciled to him on the way, or he may drag you off to the judge, and the judge turn you over to the officer, and the officer throw you into prison" (Luke, 12:58). In this new phase of his life, Crusoe discovers that the "adversary" he has is the "other" inside him, and that there is the need of reconciling both. His new identity will be centered in the relationship with his *Self*, in search of his wholeness. As a reborn, similarly as non-grown ups (Peter Pan) and ancient men/woman, he would not have a shadow. When he becomes an adult, Crusoe, as

European society and Western civilization in Defoe's time, projects his shadow onto unknown creatures, and thus feels the urge to subjugate them because fears them.

Fortunately, however, *Robinson Crusoe* is more than the parable of the disconnectedness of human beings from totality. The process is extended, that is why he has to spend such a long time on the island – 28 years, a highly symbolic number. If human nature has four constitutive elements, the four of them have to be integrated, in order to turn one a complete human being. Twenty-eight is the result of four times seven. Both numbers are significant as to their symbolism: four, as already seen, is the number of elements of the human nature – matter, emotion, intellect and spirit. It symbolizes the Earth, or what is related with the physical reality – nature and culture: we identify four states of the matter, four seasons of the year, four cardinal directions, four phases of the moon – the four aspects of a whole.

Number seven is also important, because it represents the totality of the universe in movement: it is three (the number of the aspects of linear time – past, present, future) plus four (the number for directions of space – East, South, West, North). Space and time constitute the field where phenomenal forms are manifested and disappear. It is also the sum of the three aspects of spiritual life (Father, Son, Holy Spirit) and the four primordial elements of materiality: the union of "heaven" and "earth". In the language of numbers, seven means a totality, a complete process of creation – in the Bible, God created the world in seven days (Genesis, 1, 2), and in all mythologies the number seven has been recurrent, as it is in our day-to-day reality: the week has seven days, the diatonic scale has seven notes, the rainbow has seven visible colors.

If seven means a cycle (in Egyptian pharaoh's dream, in the Jewish Holy Scriptures [Genesis, 41:1-36], there were seven good years followed by seven years of famine), multiples of seven are all significant. Twenty-one is the number of

perfection in the Bible (Book of Wisdom, 7). It symbolizes the subject centered in the object, not in itself anymore, the duality of the personality – it is not by chance that it was chosen by many peoples for the Age of Majority. Each of the four lunar periods lasts seven days; hence we have 28 as the cycle that represents completeness. The sum of the seven first numerals (1+2+3+4+5+6+7) totalizes 28, which is also a perfect number (equal to the sum of its proper divisors, as only other 38 known numbers) – thus, according to Pythagoras, with mystical properties. Robinson Crusoe surpasses that phase of majority, in another seven-year cycle: at the 28th year, the complete change is over.

There are significant differences between the Robinson Crusoe that comes to the island as a castaway and the Robinson Crusoe that leaves the island as a "lord" or a "governor". Religious tradition identifies a growing in faith, secular tradition, in power. The former would comprise submission *to* Providence; the latter, submission *of* nature. Both are doubtlessly right, except for the fact that the two objects were discovered by the subject Crusoe to be inside himself. When he pays attention to that inner voice that tells him a direction in opposition to his reasoning, he actually meets God, his Self, or who/whatever may be identified with this inner energy. And when he sees "sweetness" and "softness" in Friday's smile, his view is that of a redeemed mind, a transformed person.

Not that Crusoe has become a perfect person. Morin, whose theory I follow in this work, says that even inhumanity is part of humanity. In this sense, Crusoe perfectly embodies what mankind is: when describing the physical aspect of Friday, he emphasizes the native is not a Negro, revealing the prejudice white men already nourishes in his epoch: "His Hair was long and black, not curl'd like Wool; (…) The Colour of his Skin was not quite black, but very tawny; (…) his Nose small, not flat

like the Negroes" (DEFOE, 1994, pp. 148-9).' Earle (1977) remarks that, in 18th century, in the hierarchy amongst the barbarous peoples of the earth, the Negro was considered to be lower than most other savages. And Friday is "faithful, loving, sincere". What has really changed in Crusoe is his ability to see both sides of the coin – he acquired the pendular vision.

Thinking intuitively as much as rationally means a balance in the functioning of our mind – rational thinking is linear, analytic, while the intuitive method is circular, synthetic, and both are complementary. The functioning of both, permanently alternated, establishes a rhythm, compatible with everything in the universe, as science demonstrates. Rational thinking is associated with expansiveness, aggressiveness, competitiveness, and consequently with the masculine principle (the energy *Yang* in Eastern world). The opposite characteristics, contractedness, receptiveness, cooperativeness, are associated with the feminine principle (the Eastern archetypical pole *Yin*). The feminine principle is the great absence on the island – let us read Island of Despair/Solitariness here as the Cartesian and Newtonian Western world.

One of the most intriguing of the trivial aspects of the novel is the fact that having taken almost everything from the wreck in 12 times he went to his ship, Crusoe did not take any pans or pots from the kitchen (just a kettle). For a long time he suffers for not having how to make himself broth or a stew. Literally, as well as symbolically, there is not any vessel on the island – a vessel, as we know, is a figurative symbol for the receptive feminine principle. As it did with the rituals in the church, Protestantism has totally banished the last image of the Great Goddess – the Catholic Virgin Mary, a mediator between man/woman and God -, from the

man/woman's consciousness. In fact, it is the counterbalance for the powerful force of our rational mind. Accordingly, women had no voice in the real world.

As it is possible to know Defoe's ideas on the condition of women in European society of his time (see Chapter 4.3), it is reasonable to think that Robinson Crusoe is not a defense of domination and submission of the feminine, it is rather a warning of what happens without this essential constitutive element of human condition (in Genesis, 1:27, "God created man in his own image, male and female he created them"). Since Crusoe was in Brazil he felt as if something was missing in his life – "I used to say, I liv'd just like a Man cast away upon some desolate Island, that had no body there but himself" (*op. cit*., p. 27). As the known maxim reminds us, "What you think upon grows". The condition of being a castaway becomes true, and he is allowed to know what exactly solitariness means. As time goes by, however, he learns how to make pottery and – synchronically – he changes his way of thinking.

In my opinion, this is the great lesson in Robinson Crusoe, but it is seldom understood by children, youth or young adult people, who are still in one of those three first phases of life that the castaway had to overcome. Defoe was 59 years old when he wrote the novel, that is, he was in the middle passage, entering old age. Middle-aged people have to expand their vision, otherwise they do not have anything else worth living. All projections are dissolved, some of the expectations have been achieved, many plans have failed, there is a commitment with the Self, but it is necessary to keep a connection with the cosmos. Jung says that whoever speaks in primordial images speaks with a thousand voices.

Crusoe's crying when another shipwreck near the island kills all the crew - "O that it had been but One! (op. cit., p. 136) – is the lament of mankind when facing solitude. Only by encountering otherness inside, and then making peace with it,

man/woman can find fulfillment in loneliness, lordship in slavery, liberty in confinement. Watt says the need to obscure the negative results of the economic individualism explains the disinclination to see the darker side of Defoe's hero. I think this attitude may be metaphorically that that the protagonist adopts in the beginning of the story, using the same expression: "I learn'd to look more upon the bright Side of my Condition, and less upon the dark Side" (*op. cit*., p. 95). This conduct is changed, however, and it is just because Crusoe faces his dark side that he reaches the opposite condition. Incidentally, the dark side of the novel is it's brighter side. Obviously, at another level of Reality, as transdisciplinarity suggests.

> *I must have made very little use of my solitary and wandering years if, after such a scene of wonders, as my life may be justly called, I had nothing to say, and had made no observations.*
>
> *Daniel Defoe,* Serious Reflections *(1720)*

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Ian Watt (1964, p. 92), states, “Defo’s story is perhaps not a novel in the usual sense since it deals so little with personal relations. But it is appropriate that the tradition of the novel should begin with a work that annihilated the relationships of the traditional social order, and thus drew attention to the opportunity and the need of building up a network of personal relationships on a new and conscious pattern; the terms of the problem of the novel and of modern thought alike were established when the old order of moral and social relationships was shipwrecked, with Robinson Crusoe, by the rising tide of individualism”.

2. The Royal Society was founded in London, UK, in the same year Daniel Defoe was born, 1660. According to Watt (1964), the attempt of the Royal Society to develop a more factual prose was destined to bring the language of literature closer to the speech habits and the comprehension of the ordinary reader. Hence, the simple prose of Defoe embodies the new values of the scientific and rational outlook of the late 17th century.

3. Karl Marx, in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, published in 1859 by Progress Publishers, Moscow, says on “Production”: ”The solitary and isolated hunter or fisherman, who serves Adam Smith and Ricardo as a starting point, is one of the unimaginative fantasies of eighteenth-century romances a la Robinson Crusoe; and despite the assertions of social historians, these by no means signify simply a reaction against over-refinement and reversion to a misconceived natural life. No more is Rousseau's *contrat social*, which by means of a contract establishes a relationship and connection between subjects that are by nature independent, based on this kind of naturalism. This is an illusion and nothing but the aesthetic illusion of the small and big Robinsonades”.

4. Adam Smith is regarded as founder of classical economics, with a comprehensive theory of political economy. He saw labor as the sole source and measure of value. His main work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations,* was published in 1776. David Ricardo, author of *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, in 1821, systematized the rising science of economics.

5. The news published by *The Guardian* on September 26, 2005, says: “The archipelago is named after Robinson Crusoe, but perhaps it should have been called Treasure Island. A long quest for booty from the Spanish colonial era appears to be culminating in Chile with the announcement by a group of adventurers that they have found an estimated 600 barrels of gold coins and Incan jewels on the remote Pacific island. ‘The biggest treasure in history has been located,’ said Fernando Uribe-Etxeverria, a lawyer for Wagner, the Chilean company leading the search. Mr. Uribe-Etxeverria estimated the value of the buried treasure at US$10 billions (£5.6 billions).”

6. According to Woolf (1976, p. 16): “(…) when the Editor of the *Christian World* in the year 1870 appealed to ‘the boys and girls of England’ to erect a monument upon the grave of Defoe, which a stroke of lightning had mutilated, the marble was inscribed to the memory of the author of *Robinson Crusoe*”.

7. The Theory of Reception, elaborated by German literary theorist Hans-Robert Jauss (1921-1997), supports this concept. According to Jauss (1982, p. xxix), the “aesthetic experience occurs before there is cognition and interpretation of the significance of a work, and certainly before all reconstruction of an author’s intent”. Jauss (*op. cit.*) warns us that in the analysis of the experience of the reader – or a community of readers – of a given historical period, both sides of the text-reader relation (i.e., respectively effect and concretization of meaning) must be studied, in order to allow the emergence of an element of new significance. Those are the horizons of expectation – the literary one, brought by the work itself, and that of its everyday world, which is brought by the reader of a given society.

1 FROM HISTORY TO THE SPHERE OF MYTH

1. The expression is a fragment of an assertion of J. M. Coetzee (1999, p. v): “Having pretended once to belong to history, he finds himself in the sphere of myth”.

2. Since Aristotle, causality – the relationship between cause and effect – had four categories: efficient, final, material, and formal, that may be illustrated by the following example: a statue is created by a sculptor (the efficient) who makes changes in marble (the material) in order to have a beautiful object (the final) with the characteristics of a statue (the formal). (COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA [2005])

3. The Glorious Revolution (1688) was actually a *coup d’état*, through which the Parliament took the crown from James II and gave it to William of Orange, Protestant ruler of Holland, married to Mary Stuart, James’s daughter.

4. In *The Review*, VI (25 June 1709), N^{o} 36, Defoe divides the people of England into classes: (1) the great, who live profusely; (2) the rich, who live very plentifully; (3) the middle sort, who live well; (4) the working trades, who labour hard, but feel no want; (5) the country people, farmers, etc., who fare indifferently; (6) the poor, that fare hard; (7) the miserable, that really pinch and suffer want.

5. 12 pennies (d.) = 1 shilling (s.); 20 shillings = 1 pound (£ 1); 21 shillings = 1 guinea (PORTER, 1991).

6. Albert Camus quoted this observation as the epigraph to his novel *The Plague*, 1948.

7. The duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II, was very popular to be a Protestant heir to the throne, and led a rebellion against the king in 1685, but was defeated.

8. *Cast Away* (2000), directed by Robert Zemeckis, written by William Broyles Jr., tells about a FedEx (American corporation of domestic and international shipping) executive who must transform himself physically and emotionally to survive a crash landing on a deserted island.

9. The original name was Daniel Foe. In 1695 the writer added the honorific prefix “De” to the name publicly for the first time as manager-trustee of royal lotteries, calling himself “De Foe” (SHINAGEL, 1994).

10. There is no record of Defo’s birth. At the time he was born, London parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, which registered his two sisters births, returned to a preview custom of including only baptisms, and Defoe was not baptized. Some biographers have assumed that the writer must have been born on 30 September, date of Robinson Crusoe’s shipwreck on the island in 1659. If this date was to refer to his own birth, it is possible that Defoe thought he was a year older than he actually was, since there is a register of his sister Elizabeth’s birth in June of 1659 (NOVAK, 2001).

11. As quoted in Backscheider (1989), p. 11.

12. The former British newspapers were *The London Gazette* (1665) and *The Daily Courant* (1702). Source: The Georgian Index (2003).

13. As quoted in Novak (2001), p. 105.

14. DEFOE [2005], Chapter III.

15. As quoted in Novak (2001), p. 289.

16. As quoted in Backscheider (1989), p. 35

17. Lawrence H. Officer, from the University of Illinois at Chicago, points out that according to the Retail Price Index, the relative value of 10 pounds in 1719 was equivalent to £ 868,43 nowadays.

18. An act of the English Parliament requiring all teachers to conform to the Established Church, passed in 1714, repealed in 1719.

19. As quoted in Severin (2002), p. 55.

20. Term (equal to 10^{44} joules) used in astrophysics to measure the immense amount of energy produced by a star that explodes.

2 THREE CENTURIES OF COMMENTS AND STUDIES

1. Shinagel edited a critical edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, making available to readers all over the world comments on the book from the 18th to the 20th centuries, most of them reprinted from old publications reachable only in British or American libraries. The present account on criticism took advantage of this data.

2. WATT, 1964, 1994, and 1996.

3. *The Ancient Mariner*, a famous balad by English poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1798).

4. [To say that my sexual desire is no longer directed toward the perpetuation of the species is not enough. It no longer knows what its purpose is! For a long time memory was sufficiently active in me to feed my imagination with objects of desire, non- existent though they were. But that is over now. Memory has been sucked dry. The creatures of my imagination are lifeless shadows. I may speak the words, woman, breasts, thighs, thighs parted at my desire, but they mean nothing. Words have lost their power; they are sounds, no more. Does this mean that desire has died in me for lack of use? Far from it! I still feel within me that murmur of the spring of life, but it has become objectless.]

5. *Man Friday* started as a TV play commissioned by BBC 1's Play for Today, in 1972. On stage, the 7:84 Theatre Company and the Nottingham Playhouse Theatre in Education Company toured the play in schools, colleges, universities and community centers in several British cities, in 1973.

3 AT PLAY IN THE FIELDS OF THE LORD

1. The expression is the title of a novel by American writer Peter Matthiessen (1927-) written in 1965.

2. " When to the new eyes of Thee / All things by immortal power / Near or far / Hiddenly / To each other linked are / That thou canst not stir a flower / Without troubling of a star..." The lines were extracted from Francis Thompson's poem *The Mistress of Vision*, from the book *New Poems* (1897). (NICHOLSON; LEE (eds.), *The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse*, 1917, available in http://www.bartleby.com/236/240.html).

3. Several authors have developed theories of Levels of Reality. Roberto Poli, a researcher in cognitive systems and ontology in the Italian center Mitteleuropa Foundation, points out (2002) the works of three groups of researchers: the one formed by British philosophers of science Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), Conwy Lloyd Morgan (1852-1936) and Samuel Alexander (1859-1938); the group gathering the phenomenologists of the Circle of Munich – Czech Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), Polish Roman Ingarden (1893-1970), and German philosophers Alexander Pfänder (1870-1941), Adolf Reinach (1883-1917), Hedwig Conrad-Martius (1888-1966), Nicolai Hartmann (1882-1950); the third group is constituted by the logicians Bertrand Russel, from Wales (1872-1970), L. E. J. Brouwer, Netherlands (1881-1966), Leon Chwistek, Poland (1884-1944), Frank Plumton Ramsey, England (1903-1930), Willard Van Orman Quine, USA (1909-2000), and German aestheticists Erwin Panofsky, (1892-1968) and Alois Riegl (1858-1905). The classification of Levels of Reality varies in the diverse philosophic works, as: Inorganic, Organic (including mind) and Super Organic (social and ethical phenomena), according to Spencer; Matter, Life, Mind (Morgan); Space-Time, Matter, Life, Mind (Alexander); Nature, Consciousness, Society (Pfänder); Physical, Organic, Mental, Spiritual (Hartmann); Material, Mental and Social Phenomena (Husserl).

4. Translation mine. As most of the works of Edgar Morin have not yet been translated into English, I adopted the translations into Portuguese whenever necessary. Hence, when especially necessary quotations are presented, the transposition into English is mine.

5. Morin (1999, pp. 38-39) defines Culture as “a body of rules, knowledge, techniques, learning, values, and myths, which allows for and insures the high complexity of human individuals and societies, and which, because it is not inmate, needs to be transmitted and taught to each individual during his or her learning stage in order to perpetuate itself and maintain humanity’s high anthropological complexity”.

6. Paradigm, from the Greek *paradeigma* (pattern), a concept introduced by American philosopher Thomas Kuhn (1922-1996) in his work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), is used by Morin (2002a) as the ensemble of fundamental concepts or the master categories of intelligibility, alongside with the types of the logical relationships of attraction/repulsion (conjunction, disjunction, implication and others) among these concepts and categories. Morin points out that individuals learn, think and act according to the paradigms culturally inscribed on them.

7. Edgar Morin wrote six volumes of *La Méthode*: I. *La Nature de la Nature* (The Nature of Nature), 1977; II. *La Vie de la Vie* (The Life of Life), 1980; III. *La Connaissance de la Connaissance* (The Knowing of Knowing), 1986; IV. Les Idées (Ideas), 1991; V. L’ humanité de l’ humanité (The Human Nature of Human Nature) (2001), and VI. Ethique (Ethic), 2004.

8. Morin; Kern (1999) remark that the adventure of human beings on earth started seven million years ago. Actually, according to Smith; Szathmáry (1995), when *Homo habilis* (the handy man), our ancestor who lived 2 million years ago, developed the capacity of making tools and weapons, he also stimulated the human brain’s growth. The abilities which were necessary for throwing stones and killing animals demanded an increase in the left hemisphere of the brain, the one who corresponds to our rationality. According to neuroscientists, at that stage of human being’s evolution, accidentally the abilities of language (which are also associated with the left size of the brain) might have developed as well. However, in the history of the *Homo sapiens*, almost one hundred thousand years were necessary for him to develop rational thinking. Reasoning increased with Mathematics and writing, acquisitions of Sumerians, the people who first built cities, in Mesopotamia, an ancient region in West Asia between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, about the year 4.000 b.C., and later in ancient Greece, with pre-Socratic philosophers’ rationalistic approach to study the universe.

9. The physical expression of our consciousness – the brain – is divided into two hemispheres, linked by the *corpus callosum*, each one with specific responsibilities: the left side is called “the verbal hemisphere”, and is used in logic, linguistic structures, reading, writing and other tasks, dividing our experience of the world analytically and rationally. Mathematics and the linear concept of time are created in this left side of the brain. Neurosciences reveal that thinking, dreaming, meditating are activities originated in the right hemisphere, which also allows us to understand and define logical concepts – abstractions. In the right side, however, there are only the primary forms of language, organized in sound patterns and associations, without syntax, according to Dethlefsen (2000). American neuroscientist Roger Sperry was awarded the Nobel Prize of Medicine in 1982, for his findings with the split brain. When Medicine tried to heal certain diseases by separating the brain hemispheres (cutting the *corpus callosum*), scientists discovered how important the functioning of both together was. Blindfold, the patient could know what to do with a pen put in his/her left hand, for example, but would be unable to define what that object was. Conversely, if the pen were put in his/her right hand, the patient would know it was a pen, but would not know what it was useful for.

10. British researcher in Natural Sciences and Epistemology Gregory Bateson (1904-1980), in an informal meeting with Austrian quantum physicist Fritjof Capra (Capra, 1995, p.67), mentioned a version of Aristotle’s famous syllogism (Socrates is a man/all men are mortal/Socrates is mortal): “All men die/grass dies/all men are grass”. According to Aristotle’s logic, this would be a fallacy, but the scientist argued that its validity is of a completely different nature: it is a metaphor, used frequently by poets. As Bateson put it (*op.cit.* p. 63), “metaphor is what sustains all the tissue of mental interconnections. The methapor is at the core of ‘being alive’”. Aristotle’s syllogism identifies items, while Bateson’s syllogism identifies patterns. According to Bateson (2002, p. 7), metaphor is the language of nature, because it expresses the structural similarity, the similarity of organization, “the pattern which connects all the living creatures”.

11. Nicolescu (2002, p.126) refers the etymology of the term *sacred*: the word comes from Latin *sacer*, meaning "that which cannot be touched without being soiled". *Sacer* designates the guilty and at the same time, through its Indo-European root *sak*, is related to *sanctus* (holy). Hence, *sacer* has a double meaning – sacred and evil -, reminding us of the doubleness (the two poles) that exists in everything.

12. As translated by Isaac Newton, in 1680 (www.sacred-texts.com [2005]):
"1. Tis true without lying, certain & most true.
2. That wch is below is like that wch is above & that wch is above is like yt wch is below to do ye miracles of one only thing.
3. And as all things have been & arose from one by ye mediation of one: so all things have their birth from this one thing by adaptation.
4. The Sun is its father, the moon its mother,
5. the wind hath carried it in its belly, the earth its nourse.
6. The father of all perfection in ye whole world is here.
7. Its force or power is entire if it be converted into earth.
7a. Separate thou ye earth from ye fire, ye subtile from the gross sweetly wth great indoustry.
8. It ascends from ye earth to ye heaven & again it desends to ye earth and receives ye force of things superior & inferior.
9. By this means you shall have ye glory of ye whole world & thereby all obscurity shall fly from you.
10. Its force is above all force. For it vanquishes every subtile thing & penetrates every solid thing.
11. So was ye world created.
12. From this are & do come admirable adaptations whereof ye means (Or process) is here in this.
13. Hence I am called Hermes Trismegist, having the three parts of ye philosophy of ye whole world.
14. That wch I have said of ye operation of ye Sun is accomplished & ended."

13. A green stone, cut probably by Egyptian priests, the *Emerald Tablet*, or Tabula Smaragdina as it is also known, has 15 propositions attributed to Hermes Trismegistus (Hermes the Thrice-Great), a mythic figure from the syncretism of Egyptian (god Thoth) and Greek (god Hermes) cultures. The text, with the *Corpus Hermeticum*, comprised of 18 tracts, integrates the core documents of the Hermetic tradition, the literature of Gnosticism, read by the groups of the primitive Christianity later considered heretic (www.sacred-texts.com [2005]).

14. The prayer of both Catholics and Protestants appears in St. Luke, xi, 2-4, given by Christ in answer to the request of the disciples, different in some minor details from the form which St. Matthew (vi, 9-15) introduces in the middle of the Sermon on the Mount (as translated into English in the 1611 King James Authorized Version of the Bible): "Our Father, Who art in heaven, / Hallowed be Thy Name. / Thy Kingdom come. / Thy Will be done, / on earth as it is in Heaven. / Give us this day our daily bread. / And forgive us our debts, / as we forgive our debtors. / And lead us not into temptation, / but deliver us from evil. Amen." (www.sacred-texts.com [2005]).

15. Synchronicity, a Junguian concept, is "an acausal connecting principle" which determines that an event in the outside world coincides meaningfully with a psychological state of mind. Synchronicity consists of two factors: a) an unconscious image comes into consciousness either directly (literally) or indirectly (symbolized or suggested) in the form of a dream, idea, or premonition. b) an objective situation coincides with this content. (JUNG, 2004, p. 25)

16. In Genesis, 3.

17. The collective unconscious is a structural layer of the human psyche containing inherited elements (archetypal images), distinct from the personal unconscious. (JUNG, 2000)

18. The psyche, according to Jung's analytical psychology, is the totality of all psychological processes, both conscious and unconscious. Consciousness is the function or activity that maintains the relation of psychic contents to the ego. The ego is the subjective center of the individual's sense of identity. The ego acts in the external world through a psychic entity called *persona* – a Latin word that means "the mask of the actor". The personal unconscious is distinct from the collective unconscious. It contains lost memories, painful ideas that are repressed (i.e., forgotten on purpose), subliminal perceptions, that are sense-perceptions not strong enough to reach consciousness, and finally, contents that are not yet ripe for consciousness. The inner feminine side in a man is the *anima* - a

personal complex and an archetypal image of woman in the male psyche. It is an unconscious factor incarnated anew in every male child, and is responsible for the mechanism of projection (an automatic process whereby contents of one's own unconscious are perceived to be in others). Initially identified with the personal mother, the *anima* is later experienced not only in other women, but as a pervasive influence in a man's life. The inner masculine side of a woman is the *animus*, as well a personal complex and an archetypal image. Also, in the unconscious, we have the shadow - hidden or unconscious aspects of oneself, both good and bad, which the ego has either repressed or never recognized. The shadow is not, however, only the dark underside of the personality. It also consists of instincts, abilities and positive moral qualities that have long been buried or never been conscious. Finally, the Self is the archetype of wholeness (consciousness and the unconscious work together in harmony) and the regulating center of the psyche; a transpersonal power that transcends the ego. (JUNG, 1965, 1978, 2000)

4 THE PARABLE OF DISCONNECTEDNESS

1. Jung (2002) emphasizes that "the word 'archaic' means primal, original". By no means the term, as well as the word "primitive", should imply a value judgment.

2. The acquisition of a writing system, by Sumerians, about the year 4.000 b.C., accentuated this disconnection. Until then, men/women could not see themselves as apart from the world, according to Sahtouris (1998). Reading made people conceive themselves as observers, and play both roles – of audience and actors – in life. Before that, language was nothing but ability, as walking, says the biologist. Knowledge could only be transmitted directly by the owner, and was a result of personal experiences in this interaction man-nature.

3. All quotations from Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* are extracted from DEFOE, 1994b.

4. According to von Franz (2005), in the time of Plato old women used to tell symbolic stories – *mythoi* – to children, and in the 2nd century A.D., the famous Roman writer Lucius Apuleios wrote the story *Cupid and Psyche*, considered a fairy tale, inside his novel *The Golden Ass.* There are evidences, however, that some of the contents of the fairy tales allude back to 25.000 years b.C.

5. *Children's and Household Tales* (Kinder-und Hausmärchen) is a world famous collection of fairy tales published by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who wrote down old German and French tales. For years they gathered the stories, not to elaborate a children's collection of fairy tales, but with the intent on preserving the Germany's oral tradition – folklore.

6. Jung (1978) presents the four functions of consciousness: (1) *feeling* is not an emotion, but a judgement of value – good or bad, agreeable or disagreeable; it is a rational function, whereas (2) *intuition* is irrational; (3) *sensation* (sense perception) tells that something exists; (4) *thinking* tells us what something is. According to Sharp (1991), the inferior function is always of the same nature, rational or irrational, as the primary function: when *thinking* is most developed, the other rational function, *feeling,* is inferior; if *sensation* is dominant, then *intuition,* the other irrational function, is the fourth function, and so on. The inferior function secretly and mischievously influences the superior function most of all, just as the latter represses the former most strongly; it is practically identical with the dark side of the human personality. For the development of character it is necessary that we should allow the other side, the inferior function, to find expression.

7. The original name *Kreutznaer* means "traveler" or "crusader", according to Coelho (2004). Other possible origins for the name "Crusoe" are presented in Chapter 1.

8. According to McDowall (2000), the situation for the poor improved in the second half of the 17th century, and many of the yeoman farmers or traders became minor gentry (rural landowners, members of the lower strata of the aristocracy) or merchants, since money could buy a position in British society.

9. Aristotle explains the doctrine of the mean as equilibrium in everything (ARISTOTLE, 1999). Plato ascribed the middle state, "by some divine presage and inspiration, (…) rightly to God" (PLATO, [2006]).

10. Mythical Greek architect and sculptor, who built the paradigmatic Labyrinth for King Minos of Crete to keep the Minotaur, Daedalus was imprisoned and fashioned wings of wax and feathers for himself and for his son Icarus in order to escape to Sicily. Icarus did not take his advice, flew too near the Sun, his wings melted, he fell into the sea and drowned. (ENCICLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA, 2006)

11. Delphi was an ancient town of central Greece near Mount Parnassus. Dating to at least the 7th century b.C., it was the seat of the celebrated oracle of Apollo. The famous motto of Delphi *Meden Agan* ("nothing in excess") expressed the Greek determination of being guided by reason and to avoid exaggeration in everything in life. Virtue was a path between two extremes. Only by temperance could mankind attain happiness, thus it was necessary to maintain a balanced life of the mind and body. (BRITANNICA STUDENT ENCYCLOPEDIA, 2004)

12. The Great Chain of Being is a conception of the nature of the universe derived from Plato and Aristotle and first systematized by Plotinus. The notion strongly influenced the Western thought during the Renaissance and the 17th and early 18th centuries, died out in the 19th century, and was renewed in the 20th by American philosopher Arthur O. Lovejoy (*The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea,* 1936). Its major premise is that the universe is composed of an infinite series of forms, placed in hierarchical order from the barest type of existence to the *ens perfectissimum,* or God. Each series shares with its neighbor at least one attribute. (ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA, 2006)

13. Quotations from Thoughts # 72 by Pascal (Bartleby.com, 2001)

14. Quotations from Epistle I of *Essay on Man* (1732), by Alexander Pope. (www.gutemberg.net, 2000)

15. The Middle Way or Middle Path, in Buddhism, is a complement of general and specific ethical practices and philosophical views that are said to facilitate enlightenment by avoiding the extremes of self-gratification on the one hand, and self-mortification on the other. (ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA, 2006)

16. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Jung (2004) states that synchronicity means the simultaneity of a psychic state with one or several events, connected in meaning but with no causal relationship. Jung reveals that he developed his studies on significant coincidences based on the work of German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) *Über die anscheinende Absichtlichkeit im Schicksale des Einzelnen* [On an Apparent Intention in the Fate of the Individual] (1851), where the philosopher presents an analogy to the a-causal connection: in geography, meridians and parallels would exemplify causal objective connections of a natural process and subjective relationships. In these two chains, the fate of an individual adjusts to the Fate of the others, allowing each individual to be a hero in his/her own story and simultaneously have a supporting role in someone else's drama.

17. The Book of Jonah is the 5th book of the Bible in a series of books called the Minor Prophets. The book was probably written in the post-exilic period (after 530 b.C.) and is based on oral traditions that had been passed down from the 8th century b.C. It tells the story of an apparently inept prophet who becomes one of the most effective prophets in the entire Bible. The story is based on an obscure figure that lived during the reign of Jeroboam II (786-746 b.C. The disobedient prophet attempted to run away from his divine commission, was cast overboard and swallowed by a great fish, rescued in a marvelous manner, and sent on his way to Nineveh, the traditional enemy of Israel. To the surprise of Jonah, the wicked city listened to his message of doom and repented immediately.
The Prodigal Son, also known as The Lost Son, is one of the best-known parables told by Jesus. The story is found in Luke 15:11-32 in the New Testament of The Bible. The Prodigal Son refers to a son who returns home after squandering his fortunes; and the term "*prodigal son*" has also passed into wider usage to mean a son or other dependent who does not live up to the expectations of those who have launched him or her into a life or career.
All quotations from the Bible in this work are available in www. biblegateway.com.

18. The prom is the formal dance celebrating the end of high school in the USA.

19. In Luke, 18:15-17, we read: "People were also bringing babies to Jesus to have him touch them. When the disciples saw this, they rebuked them. But Jesus called the children to him and said, "Let

the little children come to me, and do not hinder them, for the kingdom of God belongs to such as these. I tell you the truth, anyone who will not receive the kingdom of God like a little child will never enter it."

20. The story of a Great Flood sent by God or the gods to destroy civilization is a widespread theme in myths. Archaeology has yielded little trace of the biblical flood, which destroyed every living thing except the family of Noah and the creatures in the ark, but some oceanographers and geophysicists have speculated that the actual deluge occurred in the Black Sea region some 7,600 years ago, when rising sea levels in the Mediterranean (due to melting glaciers) flooded into the Black Sea and inundated the surrounding coast. The earliest known of these stories of floods is Sumerian, one form being found in the record of Berossus (3000 b.C.), another on a tablet of the Gilgamesh epic of at least 2000 b.C. (COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA [2005])

21. The first animals (700 million years ago) and plants (200 million years ago) developed first in water. When the animals evolved to live on earth, some 400 million years ago, they simulated, for their kids, the marine environment: the animal uterus has the same salinity as the ocean, as well as the human blood, sweat and tears (CAPRA, 1997).

22. *Persona* is the Latin word for the actor's mask (in Greek, the word for actor is *hypokrités*). The *persona* is the entity that results from an adaptation of the ego to the social conditions of life. We can develop several *personae* – for several roles we have: son/daughter, husband/wife, professional, friend and the like. According to Jungian psychology, the *persona* is a deal between individual and society. (HOLLIS, 1995)

23. Hesiod Theogony, part II (www.greekmythology.com)

24. To Earth the mother of all (19 lines) is one of the 33 ancient Greek Homeric Hymns, usually sung as an introduction to another poem: "I will sing of well-founded Earth, mother of all, eldest of all beings. She feeds all creatures that are in the world, all that go upon the goodly land, and all that are in the paths of the seas, and all that fly: all these are fed of her store. Through you, O queen, men are blessed in their children and blessed in their harvests, and to you it belongs to give means of life to mortal men and to take it away. Happy is the man whom you delight to honor! He has all things abundantly: his fruitful land is laden with corn, his pastures are covered with cattle, and his house is filled with good things. Such men rule orderly in their cities of fair women: great riches and wealth follow them: their sons exult with ever-fresh delight, and their daughters in flower-laden bands play and skip merrily over the soft flowers of the field. Thus is it with those whom you honor O holy goddess, bountiful spirit. Hail, Mother of the gods, wife of starry Heaven; freely bestow upon me for this my song substance that cheers the heart! And now I will remember you and another song also." (http://omacl.org/Hesiod/hymns.html)

25. *The Choephori*, by Aeschylus (458 b.C.), translated by E.D.A. Morshead (http://www.4literature.net/Aeschylus/Choephori/)

26. The Gaia hypothesis is a theory created by the British scientist Sir James Lovelock (1919-) in the 1960's, named after a suggestion of his fellow countryman novelist William Golding (mentioned in 1.3). According to Sahtouris (1998), the theory is still a controversial issue among scientists that follow the mechanistic view of the world, who do not accept *autopoiesis* – the self-production of living organisms. No controversy exists, however, that life and the physical environment significantly influence one another, as proved by Ecology.

27. The origin of the English word "earth" lies in a Greek root meaning "plough the soil". *Ergaze* became the name of the Nordic goddess Erd and the German Erde. The words *Eorthe* in Old English and *Erthe* in Middle English, that came to the present *Earth,* also imply a feminine deity. (SAHTOURIS, 1998)

28. According to the Bible, when Egyptian pharaoh commanded that all male children born to Hebrew captives should be killed by drowning in the Nile River, Moses's mother rather than deliver him to be killed set him adrift on the Nile river in a small ark of bulrushes The daughter of the Pharaoh discovered the baby and adopted him as her son. (EXODUS 2)

29. Book of Job, 1:21.

30. In an ecosystem, the living organisms play one of three roles: p*roducers* - plants which are capable of photosynthesis; c*onsumers* - animals, which can be primary consumers (herbivorous), or secondary or tertiary consumers (carnivorous), and d*ecomposers* – bacteria, mushrooms, which degrade organic matter of all categories, and restore minerals to the environment. (CAPRA, 1997)

31. Genesis, 3: 19.

32. In Genesis, 7:13-16 its said: “On that very day Noah and his sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth, together with his wife and the wives of his three sons, entered the ark. They had with them every wild animal according to its kind, all livestock according to their kinds, every creature that moves along the ground according to its kind and every bird according to its kind, everything with wings. Pairs of all creatures that have the breath of life in them came to Noah and entered the ark. The animals going in were male and female of every living thing, as God had commanded Noah.”

33. Any tree of the genus *Abies* of the family Pinaceae (pine family), tall pyramidal evergreen conifers characterized by short, flat, stemless needles and erect cylindrical cones that shed their scales rather than dropping off the tree whole. (COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA [2005])

34. The goddess Cybele (Great Mother) fell in love with Attis, who was promised to a nymph, and with her transcendent powers made him go mad and cut off his genitals. Afterwards, repented, she made him return as the evergreen pine. In this myth, the tree represents both the phallus and the matrix, hence an ambivalent symbol, or, perhaps, the symbol of hermaphroditism. The cult of Attis, in Imperial Rome, included cutting off a pine tree, which was solemnly transferred to the Palatine on March 22, during the ceremonies of *Arbor intrat*. (CHEVALIER; GHEERBRANT, 1998)

35. Derived from the mythical contexts, the image of the tree is present nowadays as lexical references to family (genealogical tree), organizations (branches), knowledge (roots), mathematics (tree diagram), data structure, or the like; as allegory in the Bible (Jesse tree – Isaiah, 11:13, Christ’s cross); in folklore (Christmas tree), and other cultural expressions.

36. From Latin, *sedes,* (*is*), meaning: seat, house, dwelling, homeland.

37. From the Sanskrit, “circle”. The Hindu term designates ritual circular designs. (JUNG, 2000).

38. Adam Smith has been charged with the creation of the term, though the concept is much older. (WATT, 1964)

39. Apocalypse, 6:8

40. German sociologist Maximilian [Max] Weber (1864-1920) argued that sex, being one of the strongest non-rational factors in human life, is one of the great potential menaces to the individual’s rational pursuit of economic ends, and it has therefore been placed under particularly strong control in the ideology of industrial capitalism. (WATT, 1964)

41. The first species of the genus *Homo* was *Homo habilis* (handy man), who evolved in South and East Africa, and lived from approximately 2.5 million to 1.8 million years ago, at the beginning of the Pleistocene. (CAPRA, 1997)

42. From Latin, *mechanicus*, "manual laborer", noun, and "pertaining to or involving mechanical labor" (now usually mechanical), adjective (from the 14th century onwards). The sense of "one who is employed in manual labor, a handicraft worker, an artisan (chief sense through early 19c.) is attested from 1562. The adjective meaning "of the nature of or pertaining to machines" and the noun sense of "skilled workman who is concerned with making or repair of machinery" became the main senses with the rise of the automobile. (HARPER, 2001)

43. Around 7500-5500 b.C.

44. Around 5500-4500 b.C.

45. John, 2:16.

46. II Corinthians, 5: 17.

47. Genesis, 1:28.

48. Demeter [Latin *Ceres*], goddess of grain (wheat), of agriculture, who mourns her daughter Kore or Persephone, abducted by Hades. Her name means "earth mother." Demeter gave birth to Ploutos, the god of wealth, after lying with the Titan Iasius or Iason "in a thrice-ploughed field in the rich land of Crete" (Hesiod 88). Persephone or Kore ("the Maiden") [Latin *Proserpina*], daughter of Demeter and Zeus, abducted by Hades, is the Queen of the underworld and embodiment of the returning spring.

49. Deuteronomy, 20:14.

50. In *New Organon*, written in 1620 (BACON, [2006]).

51. In *Discourse on the method*, written in 1637 (DESCARTES, [2006]).

52. Persecution of witches took place in Protestant as well as in Catholic countries in Middle Europe. The sermons of the reformers of the Church Martin Luther and John Calvin increased people's fear of the devil and witches. In 16th century, German became the center in witch-hunting, due to a dispute not only political but religious between Catholics and Protestants. Between 1561 and 1670, more than 3,200 people were executed, 700 out of them in Protestant territories. (SIBAI, 2001)

53. The ogress, a female giant monster which eats people, is also a universal symbol as the Hindu cannibal-mother Kālī, "The Black", a personification of time, and as the Medieval European figure Hel, goddess of death in Norse mythology. (CAMPBELL, 2000).

54. The cultural symbol of *vagina dentata*, recurrent in aboriginal myths and legends (Egyptian, Indo-European, Greek, Native American, African), in psychoanalytic terms is the unconscious fantasy of a dangerous threatening vagina that can castrate men. The symbol is associated with the image of the mythical Medusa. The concept of men's fear of castration was stressed by Austrian psychiatrist and founder of psychoanalysis Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). (APSA, 2003)

55. From Latin, *sacrum* + *facere*.

56. Christ instituted the Eucharist sacrament as told by Luke, 22: 19: "And he took bread, gave thanks and broke it, and gave it to them, saying, "This is my body given for you; do this in remembrance of me."

57. It was Christopher Columbus who introduced the cannibal to Europeans. In his journal dated November 4, 1492, he mentions men with dog faces. On November 23, he writes on *cariba*, a corruption of Carib, one of the Amerindian groups of the region of Lesser Antilles (islands of Caribbean Sea). The name *cannibal* is originated in *caniba*, a word in arawak, the language of the Caribs, which means "valiant man". Columbus would have identified firstly the Latin radical *canis* in the word, thus the idea of dog-headed men. (LESTRINGANT, 1997)

58. Genesis, 2:2.

59. The religious festival was the re-actualization of a primordial event, of a sacred history, the participants of which become contemporaries of the gods and semi-divine beings, during the repetition of that primordial time. That enabled men/women to participate of the sacred action. (ELIADE, 1987)

60. Early clocks were large and expensive and were usually placed only on churches and other public buildings. Domestic clocks began to appear in British houses in about 1600. They had no pendulum, which was discovered in 1658. (http://inventors.about.com)

61. Exodus, 19:18.

62. 2 Kings, 2:11.

63. Daniel, 3:25.

64. Fascination with islands (GILLIS, 2004).

65. The scientific revolution began with the theory of Polish polymath Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543) that the earth revolved around the sun, which was followed by studies of Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), German astrologer Johannes Keppler (1571-1630), Italian physicist Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) and others, until the works on universal gravitation and the laws of motion demonstrated by English scientist Isaac Newton (1643-1727).

66. In Genesis 2:25, we read:" The man and his wife were both naked, and they felt no shame". Genesis 3: 7 tells that, after Adam and Eve had sinned, "Then the eyes of both of them were opened, and they realized they were naked; so they sewed fig leaves together and made coverings for themselves".

67. According to Leviticus, 16, in the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), the Jewish feast day on which wrongdoings committed during the past year are atoned for, God ordered Aaron, Moses's brother, to take two goats to the temple, one of them for a sin offering and the other to be sent into the desert as a scapegoat.

68. John, 10:30.

69. Job, 6:24.

70. Apocalypse, 12:1.

71. Genesis, 1: 27.

72. Apocalypse, 6.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – Technical information on the studied work

Title: *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner: Who lived Eight and Twenty Years, all alone in an uninhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River of Oroonoque; Having been cast on Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself. With An Account how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by Pyrates*

Author: British writer Daniel Defoe (1660-1731)

Genre: novel

Language: English

First publication: 1719, London, England

Publisher: William Taylor

Narrator: Robinson Crusoe himself

Protagonist: Robinson Crusoe

Major characters: Crusoe's father, the Portuguese Captain, Xury, Friday

Setting (time): From 1659 to 1694

Setting (place): York, then London, in England; Sallee, North Africa; Brazil; a deserted island off Trinidad; England; Lisbon; overland from Spain toward England; England; and finally the island again.

APPENDIX B –The most famous *Robinsonades*

WORK	YEAR	TITLE	AUTHOR / DIRECTOR	COUNTRY
NOVEL	1767	*The Female American, or the Extraordinary Adventures of Unka Eliza Winkfield, Compiled by Herself*	[anonymous]	UK
	1812	*The Swiss Family Robinson*	Johann David Wyss	Switzerland
	1858	*The Coral Island*	R. M. Ballantyne	Scotland
	1954	*Lord of the Flies*	William Golding	UK
	1967	*Man Friday*	Michel Tourmier	France
	1986	*Foe*	J. M. Coetzee	South Africa
	1994	*The Island of the Day Before*	Umberto Eco	Italy
PANTOMIME	1789 (?)	*Robinson Crusoe*	Steve Shaw	UK
		Robinson Crusoe	James Barry	UK
PLAY	1972	*Man Friday*	Adrian Mitchell	UK
	1978	*Pantomime*	Derek Walcott	St. Lucia (Antilles)
OPERA	1867	*Robinson Crusoé*	Jacques Offenbach	France
MUSICAL	1916	*Robinson Crusoe Jr.*	Al Jolson	USA
	2003	*Robinson Crusoe*	David Lambert	UK
SONG	1916	*Where did Robinson Crusoe go with Friday on Saturday Night?*	Sam Lewis, George Meyer and Joe Young	USA
POEM	1977	*Crusoe in England*	Elizabeth Bishop	USA
	1965	*The Castaway, Crusoe's Island, Crusoe's Journal, The Figure of Crusoe*	Derek Walcott	St. Lucia (Antilles)
NURSERY RHYME		*Poor Old Robinson Crusoe*	[anonymous]	UK
DIDACTIC BOOK (Latin)	1809	*Robinson Crusöeus*	François-Joseph Goffaux	France
	1884	*Rebilius Cruso*	Francis William Newman	UK
	1928	*Vita discriminaque Robinsonis Crusoei*	Arcadius Avellanus (pseud.)	USA
(Economics)	1920	*A Story of Robinson Crusoe*	Silvio Gesell	Germany
COMIC STRIP	2000	*A Story of Robinson Crusoe*	Eiichi Morino	Japan
FILM	1940	*Swiss Family Robinson*	Edward Ludwig	USA
	1960	*Swiss Family Robinson*	Ken Annakin	USA
	1963	*Lord of the Flies*	Peter Brooks	USA
	1965	*Robinson Crusoe on Mars*	Byron Haskins	USA
	1968	*Hell in the Pacific*	John Boorman	USA
	1975	*Man Friday*	Jack Gold	UK
	1975	*The Erotic Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*	Ken Dixon	USA
	1975	*Swiss Family Robinson*	Harry Harris	USA
	1980	*The Blue Lagoon*	Randal Kleiser	USA
	1985	*Enemy Mine*	Wolfang Petersen	USA
	1991	*Return to the Blue Lagoon*	William A. Graham	USA
	1998	*Swiss Family Robinson*	Stewart Rafill	USA
	2000	*Castaway*	Robert Zemeckis	USA
TV SERIES	1965-68	*Lost in Space*	Irwin Allen	USA
	1974-76	*Land of the Lost*	Marty Krofft	USA
	1975-76	*Swiss Family Robinson*	Leslie Martinson	USA
	2004	*Lost*	Jeffrey Lieber, J.J. Abrams, Damon Lindelof	USA
REALITY SHOW	1998	*Expedition Robinson*		Sweden
	2000	*Survivor*		USA

APPENDIX C – *Robinson Crusoe* on the screen

YEAR	TITLE	DIRECTOR	ACTOR	TECH. FILE
1900	*Robinson Crusoe*	Joseph Kane		b&w, 50', silent, USA
1902	*Les Aventures de Robinson Crusoé*	Georges Méliès		b&w, silent, France
1913	*Robinson Crusoe*	Otis Turner	Robert Z. Leonard	b&w, silent, 30', USA
1916	*Robinson Crusoe*	George Marion	Robert Patton Gibbs	b&w, silent, USA
1922	*The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*	Robert F. Hill	Harry Myers	b&w, silent, 18 episodes, USA
1927	*Robinson Crusoe*	M. A. Wetherell	M. A. Wetherell	b&w, silent, UK
1932	*Mr. Robinson Crusoe*	Edward Sutherland	Douglas Fairbanks Jr.	b&w, 75', silent, USA
1946	*Robinzon Kruzo*	Aleksandr Andriyevsky	Pavel Kadochnikov	Color, 85', Soviet Union
1954	*The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*	Luis Buñuel	Daniel O'Herlihy	Color, 90', Mexico
1965	*The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*	Jean Sacha	Robert Hoffmann	b&w, TV series (13 episodes, 26'), UK/France
1972	*Robinzon Kruzo*	Stanislav Govorukhin	Leonid Kuravlyov	color, 92', Soviet Union
1974	*Robinson Crusoe*	James MacTaggart	Stanley Baker	color, 120', UK
1978	*As Aventuras de Robinson Crusoé*	Mozael Silveira	Costinha	color, 90', Brazil
1982	*Dobrodruzství Robinsona Crusoé, námorníka z Yorku*	Stanislav Látal	Václav Postránecky	color, 68', Czechoslovakia
1989	*Crusoe*	Caleb Deschanel	Aidan Quinn	color, 94', UK
1996	*Robinson Crusoe*	Rod Hardy, George Miller	Pierce Brosnan	color, 87', USA
2003	*Robinson Crusoé*	Thierry Chabert	Pierre Richard	color, 205' (2 TV episodes), France

Source: The Internet Movie Database (http://www.imdb.com/)

APPENDIX D – Chronology

YEAR	ENGLAND	DANIEL DEFOE
1660	Restoration	Born Daniel Foe in London
1662	Act of Uniformity forces the family Foe to become Presbyterians (Dissenters)	
1665-66	The Great Plague and Great Fire of London	
1671-79		Attends Rev. James Fisher's school and Rev. Charles Morton's Academy
1683		Establishes as merchant in Cornhill
1684		Marries Mary Tuffley
1685	Charles II is succeeded by his Roman Catholic brother, James II	Starts traveling in England and Europe and publishing political tracts
1688	The Glorious Revolution: William of Orange is crown King	
1688-1702		Supports William III
1692		Declared bankrupt, pilloried and imprisoned for debts
1695		Adds the prefix "De" to his name
1697		Publishes *An Essay on Projects*
1701		Publishes *The True-Born Englishman*, in defense of William III
1702	William dies and is succeeded by Anne	Publishes *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, a satiric attack on the Church
1703		Arrested, charged with seditious libel, heavily fined, pilloried, imprisoned in Newgate. Bankrupt again. Publishes *Hymn to the Pillory*. Hailed as a hero by the public.
1703		Released by Tory Minister Robert Harley
1704-1713		Publishes *The Review*
1706		Publishes *Jure Divino*
1707	Union of England and Scotland	
1708		Moves from London to Stoke Nevington
1713-14		Arrested several times for debts and political writings
1714	Queen Anne dies; George I is crowned	
1715		Serves the Whig government as censor in the Tory press
1715		Publishes *The Family Instructor*
1718		Publishes *The Family Instructor* – 2nd vol.
1719		Publishes *Robinson Crusoe*; *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*
1720		Publishes *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, *Captain Singleton*, *Serious Reflections… of Robinson Crusoe*
1722		Publishes *Moll Flanders*, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, *Colonel Jack*
1724		Publishes *Roxana*, *A General History of the Pyrates, A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (3 vols., 1724-26)
1725		Publishes *The Complete English Tradesman*

1726		Publishes *The Political History of the Devil*
1727	George I is succeeded by George II	Publishes *Conjugal Lewdness*, *An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions*, *A New Family Instructor*, *The Complete English Tradesman,* 2nd vol.
1728		Publishes *Augusta Triumphans*, *A Plan of the English Commerce*
1731		Dies “of a lethargy” (April 24) in London, and is buried (April 26) in Bunhill Fields
1890		Publishing posthumously of *The Complete English Gentleman*
1895		Publishing posthumously of *Of Royall Educacion*

Sources: ABRAMS *et al.* (1999), BACKSCHEIDER (1989), NOVAK (2001), SHINAGEL (1994)